The German Tribune

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Warsaw must make next move in Bonn-Warsaw detente

Foreign Minister Walter Scheel flew to Warsaw with a thousand million Marks at the ready. He returned on 21 October with not a pfennig spent. This may not be all there is to say about current relations between this country and Poland, but it is characteristic of ties that are strained rather than relaxed and more heavily laden with mistrust on the Polish side than Bonn deserves.

What is more, the demands made are so exaggerated that it is high time Bonn pointed out in a cordial but emphatic manner that there are limits to this country's financial resources.

Even so, it would be unfair to view this, Herr Scheel's third visit to the Polish capital, in either wholly or largely negative terms, as has Christian Democrats' general secretary Kurt Biedenkopf in an initial assessment on behalf of the Bonn Opposition.

Far from casting a "shadow of doubt" on the viability of the understanding with Poland negotiated by the Federal government, as the Oposition alleges, Walter Scheel has demonstrated that there is no lack of good will on this country's part and that is is up to the Polish leaders to take the next step in showing willing.

For domestic reasons the Poles would have welcomed a breakthrough to a "new quality of relations" at the present juncture. While Walter Scheel was conferring in detail with Polish Party leader Edward Gierek for the first time ever in Warsaw on 20 October their venue, the central committee building of the Polish United Workers' Party, was being decorated with banners heralding a new Party assembly inaugurated as a regular gathering between official congresses. General Secretary Gierek would have been only to happy to crown the conference with the personal success of details of an agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany.

The current Bonn government is the same administration as the one that signed the Warsaw Treaty in December 1970. A fortnight afterwards the Polish top brass were reshuffled, however, and the new Polish leaders have only partially fulfilled the terms of the agreement, delaying the establishment of diplomatic relations until a year ago, for instance.

Warsaw must surely realise that it is only closing an open door to normal relations in practice by exaggerating morally and politically motivated demands.

This was neither a goodwill visit nor a business trip. Foreign Minister Scheel's intention – the purpose of his visit – was to make it clear to the Poles that this country, whether it be openly or covertly envied or admired, is not prepared to up the ante tenfold from a ceiling of, say, 1,000 million Marks.

For the most part ready cash is what is involved and Poland must not be misled into assuming that the discrepancy between the official and realistic exchange rates of the zloty and the Mark applies to the political market-place too.

Misgivings there are bound to be when accusations of outstanding debts based on moral guilt are made, but the powers that be in Warsaw must be made to realise that pressure for too hard a bargain may simply lead to a flatly negative response in this country.

The Poles have evidently failed to realise how large a loan of the size mooted looms in relation, say, to Bonn's development aid. Last year Bonn's technical assistance within the framework of worldwide development aid amounted to no more than 831 million Marks. Over the past twenty years this aid has not amounted to more than 5,000 million Marks in all.



Foreign Minister Walter Scheel with Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski (left) in Warsaw on 20 October. During Herr Scheel's visit the Poles announced for the first time their readiness to 'resolve' the problems involving Poles of German extraction.

(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

As regards capital aid, the total granted by this country to the entire developing world last year was 1,300 million Marks. Poland must be prepared to view its own position realistically when aiming at terms from Bonn that compare with those granted the world's poorest countries – thirty-year loans at two per cent interest with no repayments for the first ten years.

These, however, were not details Herr Scheel was willing or able to negotiate. Financial experts from Bonn and Warsaw must first put their heads together on this one.

Loans, then, are a point that remains to be clarified. As for Federal government underwriting of investments by firms from this country in Poland, the Foreign Minister emphasised that Bonn was agreed in principle, though not prepared to give Poland special treatment. The terms would be the same as they are with, say, Argentina.

Government aid from Bonn will not decide the issue in any case. The best prospect of normal economic ties between this country and Poland is the willingness of private industry to invest in and cooperate with its Polish counter parts.

Herr Scheel would nonetheless appear to have reached agreement on the nature and extent of long-term economic assistance in his talks with Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski, Prime Minister Jaroszewicz, State Council chairman Jablonski, a man who sets particular store by economic development, and Party leader Gierek.

The Poles announced that the repatriation of families of German extraction is to be completed over the next five years. There can thus be no doubt that there is a close connection between financial obligations and humanitarian issues.

Faced with the choice between making no financial concessions and achieving no progress on the one hand and rendering ties between the two countries more flexible with the aid of ready cash on the other, Bonn has no option but to pay. The regrettable upshot is the suspicion that Bonn is, in point of fact, agreeing to pay reparations in the form of a poll tax.

In this context the Federal government must counteract one particular risk and both Bonn and Warsaw must join forces in offsetting the more unfortunate aspects of the main problem.

From Bonn's point of view the danger is that material concessions to Poland may be taken as an invitation to other countries to make demands of their own. In neither country must there be the slightest suspicion that trust and friendship are saleable commodities.

Rudolf Strauch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 October 1973)

IN THIS ISSUE

Middle East conflict

Signs of deadlock in the desert and the emergence of a military balance in the Middle East have not been without political effect. Moscow is reviewing the attitude it should take towards Washington.

Dr Kissinger's initial warnings to the Kremlin to bear in mind the two countries' joint responsibility for peace went unnoticed but now appear to have made their mark in the Soviet capital.

US threats to view the Arab-Israeli conflict as a touchstone of detente would have done Washington no good at all, though, had not the Pentagon been prepared to vie with the Soviet Union in airlifting arms to the protagonists.

America was initially hesitant on this point but subsequently adopted a more resolute attitude, and this evidence of US determination not to tolerate the threat of an upset in the balance of power between Jews and Arabs and America and Russia in the Middle East proved a crucial factor.

It took the military and technological escalation on Washington's part to pack punch into America's willingness to enter into diplomatic dialogue. Moscow-style detente has turned out to be an unstable concern, requiring continual conflict capability on the West's part.

It remains to be seen what may emerge from the talks between the two superpowers and their consultations with the belligerents. Initially, of course, there may be an armistice agreement, but where are the lines to be drawn on the map? Neither the pre-1967 nor the post-1967 frontiers seem to stand much of a chance, though the Arabs insist on the one and Israel on the other.

The readiness to come to terms shown by the Israeli government for some days applies not to an armistice but to a peace treaty. Israel can only vacate the occupied territories in exchange for peace and security guarantees. A mere armistice would amount to no more than a breathing space for both sides to go to even greater lengths in preparation for the next call to arms, thus renewing the risk of major international crises.

The growing exhaustion of both sides on the battlefield and the readiness of the United States to counter the Soviet Union in the Middle East in an evental showdown if need be ought to enable the two superpowers to come to terms on how they and their protégés are to progress from an armistice to a lasting political solution to the warfare between Arabs an Jews that has recurred at intervals over nearly thirty years.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 October 1973)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Middle East War – a battle of US and USSR technology

Frankfurter Allgemeine

America has strategically intervened in the Arab-Israeli war. President Nixon's declaration that the United States will stand by its commitments to Israel has catapulted America into the heart of the matter.

US arms deliveries can be viewed as the first practical consequences of this declaration, but the American transport planes landing in Israel represent no more than the tip of the iceberg.

In reality Washington has notified Moscow of the strategic position it does not intend to vacate as long as tension continues in the Middle East. Strategic poker between the Big Two has begun.

This US strategy smacks of Dr Kissinger, the new Secretary of State. Dr Kissinger has advised the President as a political thinker and part of his political philosophy is that a world power ought not continually to consider the dangers with which a resolute stand might be fraught.

In taking political decisions America, he feels, must not only take the risk for the United States into account. The other side is in exactly the same position.

To hand over all the psychological trump cards to the other side in order to avoid a major nuclear confrontation is to undermine the efficacy of one's own nuclear shield as a force for world peace.

The Soviet Union must also fear nuclear holocaust. The risk being equally divided there is no reason why America should seek refuge in political inflexibility in the event of an emergency. This is a view Dr Kissinger has expressed in writing on many occasions.

Boosted credibility

This US stand makes it appear more likely that Washington would come to the aid of other allies in a fix. America's credibility within Nato has been boosted to a considerable extent by the President's declaration. Yet at the same time US policy makes it clear how difficult America's allies make life for Washington.

America's unambiguous support for Israel not only sounds a warning note in Russia's direction, so representing a cold shower for the atmosphere of understanding that was emerging between the nuclear powers.

The strain also extends to Arab countries that may be opposed to Israel yet at the same time attach importance to cordial relations with Washington as *suppliers of crude oil to the West*. Mr Nixon's declaration has come as a shock to King Faisal. It could well lead to serious domestic conflict in Saudi Arabia.

Last but not least the American initiative has a direct bearing on Nato's attitude. It obliges Nato countries to nail their colours to the mast too, and one is bound to say that the initial outcome of this obligations has been anything but entirely positive. A number of Nato countries have responded in a contradictory manner.

Portugal has not hesitated in providing stopover facilities in the Azores for the US airlift. American transport planes may also land in Cyprus, due partly to longstanding British agreements and partly to the benevolent support of the Greek government, which has so often been lambasted by the West.

The Turks, on the other hand, are playing a shifty game. Over the past few days the Turkish press has reported with amazing frankness that Soviet civil transport planes have been flying over Turkey in the direction of Syria night after night.

Turkey, then, cannot be said to be toeing the Atlantic line, though for international political reasons this may not be such a bad thing.

For both geographical and strategic reasons Turkey's position is a special one. Its command of the Straits enables it to keep the Red Fleet out of the Mediterranean to a large extent, but the Treaty of Montreux leaves sufficient political leeway for pressure not only to be brought to bear on the Soviet Union. The overfly rights negotiated between Ankara and the Kremlin are flexible too.

At times the United States must be gratified that Turkey proves flexible. Give and take in this strategic region does at least lessen the risk of major tension. From the Nato viewpoint, however, the Turkish attitude must be viewed with misgiving.

Nato countries realise that the Turkish public remain sympathetic towards their Arab neighbours and Islam, but the alliance's easternmost outpost currently appears to be more of a psychologically and operationally jeopardised flank than a powerful outermost bastion.

US support for Israel may, moreover, have other unpleasant repercussions for Nato, repercussions that would be particularly unpleasant for this country.

As yet the Americans are mainly flying missiles and electronic equipment to Israel, but should they decide to start an airlift of tanks one can well imagine the United States first stripping its depots in the Palatinate. America might even deplete the tank strength of its Seventh Army and the Phantom complement of its tactical air force in Ramstein. Israel will certainly soon be badly in need of both.

War in the Middle East thus not only heightens the risk of complete alienation between the nuclear powers up to and including psychological escalation conceivably on a par with the 1962 Cuban crisis. The war may also weaken Western European defences.

When the war theatre is viewed in purely military terms as an experimental exercise for the superpowers further noteworthy points arise. So far, for instance, the Americans do not seem to have provided the Israeli air force with up-to-the-minute equipment.

Israel now being in a military crisis, political and military leaders in Washington may have decided after all with the wherewithal to deal with Egyptian and Syrian missiles.

The present campaign is characterised by two strategic factors that are not entirely unconnected. Operationally the Israelis have been unable to make good the time handicap they sustained as a result of delayed mobilisation. Their air force has also been unable to put the enemy air forces out of action.

Israeli attacks have on several occasions come to grief because of first-rate Soviet missiles of various kinds. In the eyes of international opinion the impression has been created that Soviet weaponry is superior and that there is no answer to these missiles. This is not the case.

Details of remote-controlled bombs

America has the "thinking bomb" – better known in GI jargon as the smart bomb – that is capable of penetrating any missile shield. It was first used on 12 May 1972 to destroy the Doumer Bridge in Hanoi, the bridge over the Red River that was protected better than any other by Soviet missile batteries.

This bomb was remote-controlled by sound and light waves rather like television. On the same day a bridge at Thanh Hoa, south of Hanoi, was destroyed from the air, the bomb this time being guided by a laser beam.

Such technical details as are now outlined are taken from a most informative article on the deployment of smart bombs published in *Dèfense nationale*, the French journal, and penned by Lieutenant-Colonel Chevignard.

The intelligent bomb, as the French dub it, has brought about a revolution on the battlefield, the author claims. In simplified terms there are four categories of remote-controlled bombs that differ in the means used to guide them to their targets.

According to Lieutenant-Colonel Chevignard the Americans have at their disposal:

1) The laser bomb. Visible or invisible laser beams develop properties that do not apply to natural light. The laser beams the bomb but must itself be trained on the target by an operator who can see the enemy position.

The laser bomb can be carried by aircraft, vessel or vehicle and the only proviso as far as the standard version is concerned is that the laser beam must be uninterrupted from start to finish. It is most effective at distances of up to two kilometres, or a mile and a quarter.

Since the use of the fist laser bomb a new targeting method has been evolved with the aid of computers and up-to-the-minute technology and laser devices can now be deployed in a completely unorthodox manner.

2) TV bombs, three kinds of which exist. The target is always indicated on a monitor screen at a control panel. This system can be used at night. No night is dark enough for light not to shine.

3) Another variety of smart bomb remote-controlled by infra-red rays.

4) Loran (standing for long-range navigation) extending the accuracy of smart bombs to within 200 yards over a distance of 300 miles.

Were the Americans to supply the Israelis with these weapons systems, and the indications are that they are doing, the deployment of the smart bomb would certainly change the operational situation.

The war would increasingly become a feat of engineering and technology and political, psychological and human criteria would recede into the background even more than is already the case. The belligerents would be relegated to the status of errand-boys for automated military machines.

The increasing influence of technological capabilities on the course of war will not only bring about changes in the political and strategic picture in the Middle East. It is already safe to forecast that the tempestuous pace of technological development will transform overall US strategy.

America will soon be equipping its Polaris fleet with a new kind of long-range missile enabling US nuclear subs to operate in home waters and yet effectively counter the Soviet missile threat. In other words, America will no longer necessarily need further outposts to safeguard its own security.

The strategic and thus political importance of Western Europe for the United States will decline accordingly, as will soon be apparent in the strategic concept America is shortly to reformulate. The war in the Middle East is a training-ground for this strategic future.

Adelbert Weinstein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 October 1973)

Henry Kissinger's Noble Peace Price

The Nobel Peace Prize is the highest honour and at the same time the most binding commitment that can be bestowed on a man in political office, Willy Brandt noted in his Oslo speech on receiving the award two years ago.

The award committee might well have had these words in mind in deciding to honour again two statesmen who are still in office, the US Secretary of State and a high-ranking North Vietnamese Party official.

Henry A. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho have been awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize for having brought to an end by dint of three years of negotiations the longest and most ferocious war since 1945.

Yet since the signing of the Paris armistice agreement on 27 January more Vietnamese have been killed in Indo-China than GIs during the previous decade. There can still be no saying which way the scales will tip, from the armistice to a fresh war or in the direction of lasting peace.

Both statesmen concerned themselves with the mechanics of warfare before becoming pacemakers of peace, but the crowning of their joint endeavours proves that agreement between "legitimate" and "revolutionary" powers, a contrast that has occupied Dr Kissinger all his life, is possible.

Speaking to the UN General Assembly shortly after his appointment as Secretary of State Dr Kissinger reaffirmed his determination to progress from a mere armistice to institutionalised peace, but the proof of the pudding has yet to be provided both in Vietnam and elsewhere.

(Die Zeit, 19 October 1973)

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■ POLITICS

Added popularity of FDP puts strain on the Coalition

DIE ZEIT

Free Democrats are still not sure whether they should regard the deep rift that has opened up between Herbert Wehner and Willy Brandt with concern or nonchalance.

Nonchalance would be justified from the point of view of the fact that the FDP can now be regarded as the stable element in the governing coalition, compared with the schisms in the SPD. But the Liberal party would be advised to feel concern about this conflict in its partner, since the fate of the SPD largely determines its own fate, and conflicts in one government party cannot help but cause trouble in the other.

This is all the more true, since the Free Democrats have always submitted to the leadership of Willy Brandt since they formed the coalition with the SPD. Together with Walter Scheel he is the most important nail holding the Coalition together. If there were a far-reaching loss of authority for one of the two integrating forces in the coalition this could in the short or long term lead to doubts about the coalition as as whole.

In this respect the FDP regard the conflict between Wehner and Brandt as hinging on whether the Chancellor can maintain the strictly adhered-to unity of the two parties or whether he must make concessions to those in his own party who demand that the Social Democrats should increasingly assert their own strength within the government.

More and more Social Democrats are complaining that the smaller coalition partner is stealing much of their thunder. This may be a polemical exaggeration but it is true that in the Coalition certain accents have shifted.

Unlike the SPD members of the Cabinet the FDP ministers form virtually a homogeneous team with Scheel at the head, and he would like to create greater manoeuvrability for himself and his office.

Surveys and applications for membership of the FDP show that the liberals enjoy the sympathies of twelve per cent of the electorate. Scheel's popularity stands comparison, with Brandt's at present. The number of members of the FDP has grown by nine per cent since the elections without any special efforts on the part of the party.

The main impetus for the smallest of the three main parties has come from the natural drift of voters between elections. Obviously those who are disappointed with the SPD are not going over to the CDU/CSU, but are stopping at least temporarily at the FDP's halfway house.

No wonder that the newly won self-confidence of the FDP has led it to make statements that have irritated its SPD partner, starting with the statement by the late General-Secretary Karl-Hermann Flach that the party must begin to show its strength right down to the statement by Walter Scheel that in any coalition the supply of points held in common must dry up sooner or later.

Analyses of the last election have proved conclusively to the FDP that the bulk of their supporters wants to see them in alliance with the SPD, the more so since the Young Socialists have become vocal and a "liberal corrective" is deemed necessary.

Of course it has not become any easier to fulfil this wish. The FDP is more dogged at present by minor details than basic policy decisions, especially where finding a socialist-liberal line is concerned.

This is particularly clear where the latest contentions over Ostpolitik are concerned. The major joint push to the East has succeeded, but now the SPD and FDP have found that they have not reached agreement on the future course of East Bloc policy. Thus misunderstandings between the parties are being regarded as differences of opinion. And these misunderstandings have taken on the character of a battle over principles since Wehner's intervention.

A similar situation applies to the main themes of domestic policy, worker participation, capital accumulation and land laws. Here too unity depends on settling details and finding a socialist-liberal solution rather than pursuing purely SPD, FDP policies. If the two parties, strengthened by their election landslice, have difficulties pursuing joint policies it is because in the last legislative period they were *chained together* in the bitter battle for survival. Now that they have a sufficient mandate they must learn to work together in these proosperous times. The comfort of a strong backing enables them to hammer out differences more fiercely than before but demands the skill of not antagonising the partner. If the SPD and FDP want to develop their own personalities at all costs it is the beginning of the end of their coalition.

Carl-Christian Kaiser

(Die Zeit, 12 October 1973)

Neutrality policy for Central Europe would be absurd

For twenty years scarcely anyone has thought of the subject of the possibility of a neutral Central Europe, not even surviving members of Professor Ulrich Noack's *Nauheimer Kreis* (Nauheim Circle). But suddenly this has become a subject for discussion once again.

First of all newspapers got hold of the idea, then a French Minister, and now even parliamentarians who want to show the dangers of this idea for the present day. The Chancellor said that the accusations made by his opponents were something out of a fairy-tale, something spectral. But the Opposition goes on shuddering with horror.

It was the CDU/CSU Opposition itself that began such talk of Finlandisation four years ago when the SPD/FDP coalition came to power. Of course their warnings struck fear into many people in this country, while others were excited and fascinated by the thought of a neutral Central Europe. They felt that Eastern Europeans would regard as a dream what the Opposition was calling a nightmare. In certain political circles definite neutralist tendencies came to the surface.

There were no demands for neutrality, which has been a dirty word to Germans since 1919 when one headline read: Switzerlandisation of Germany? But there were many who wanted to see a cut in this country's contributions towards Nato, who more than criticised the Brussels treaties, who even dreamt of a more radical development aid policy that would weld the Third World on to this country with no joints showing.

Such ideas for a better world built upon the sound base of the Federal Republic soon found their way into the working documents of the Young Socialists and Young (Free) Democrats. It was kept a close secret what the leaders of the SPD and FDP thought about such ideas.

Another secret during this period of optimistic Ostpolitik and pessimistic Opposition warnings was what guarantees the government would have if things did not run according to plan. As long ago as 1968 contingency plans for such an emergency were made – by Egon Bahr.

Under the many possibilities for the development of Western Europe from the theoreticians point of view were a failure of the East Bloc policy (but not from fear of a rollback policy under a later Barzel government) resultant resignation accompanied by a fear of crisis among citizens of Western Europe, collapses of the European Community, and a decline to a Western Europe of the Fatherlands (Charles de Gaulle).

It was exclusively for such a development so as to prevent the possibility of Finlandisation by Moscow that the Egon Bahr case study was designed. Central Europe would have been able to seek refuge in secure zones guaranteed by the two super-powers in which there would no longer be any foreign troops stationed.

Our allies got their foreign ministries to make similar studies, and these too are collecting dust, since the feared situation has not come about.

It was Ostpolitik that brought Germans and Europeans greater success. The EEC changed with the entry of Britain, Denmark and Eire. Numerous steps taken towards a political union of Western Europe mean virtually certainly that there is no road back. Thus it would be absurd to pursue the kind of neutrality policy the Opposition fears. For the Social Democrats it would be political

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

suicide, since it would completely upturn four years of hard political bargaining.

Decisive happenings in the East Bloc have marked the past four years, too. The Comecon set-up is far more tightly woven now than it was in 1969. The European Security Conference, Salt and MBFR talks were only possible because an atmosphre of trust was created between Moscow and its Western neighbours after the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Leonid Brezhnev would have to break his promise to his people to meet their demands for consumer goods if the tried to bargain with a neutral and unstable Central Europe rather than with a propsperous EEC.

The CDU and CSU know this full well and individual members will tell you so in confidence. It is not neutrality that is the danger for Central Europe. It is far more a neutralised West German Opposition! The Opposition should not be blamed for having no plans of its own, since no European State can bring its own plans to fruition today.

The Opposition's fault is that at a time when others have set Western Europe on the right road they have still not learnt how to be an effective Opposition, particularly with regard to home affairs.

The most outstanding Opposition spokesman Franz Josef Strauss (CSU) has said that the Chancellor is at his most vulnerable when he is speaking the unvarnished truth. Need we say more?

Nils von der Heyde

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 14 October 1973)

Katzer's pull is on the wane

Süddeutsche Zeitung

At the elections for its leadership the CDU/CSU has not allowed itself to indulge in any experiments. For the rest of this legislative period the Opposition will be led by those deputy parliamentary party chairmen and heads of the executive group who took up their positions in December 1972 under the then Opposition leader Rainer Barzel.

Nevertheless the way the votes fell shows clearly a shift in emphasis among the six deputies to floor leader Karl Carstens. This is particularly true of social services expert Hans Katzer and Burkhard Ritz, who is an Opposition expert on agriculture.

In 1972 Katzer received 144 votes and has the greatest number of "union party" members of the Bundestag on his side. This time he has received only 133 votes. Then one year ago Ritz was in third place, but this time he came top of the polls with 155 votes.

Thus Katzer's influence on the Opposition benches is on the wane. The subject of worker participation in management cannot be taken as the cause of this, since discussions within the CDU/CSU have aimed at reaching a compromise with the social services sub-committees. Nor do other specific matters throw any light on why Katzer is losing popularity.

One possibility that is enlightening is that CDU/CSU members are expressing belated resentment towards their former leader Rainer Barzel. In the latter months of his office Barzel tried to give the head of the social services sub-committees a dominant role in the parliamentary party so as to enlist his support.

Katzer was supposed to be the chief coordinator, a plan that led to Barzel's downfall. Now under Carstens Katzer has received the bill. Today it is Franz Josef Strauss who is acting as coodinator of the finance, economics and social welfare policies.

Carstens is sticking to his guns and refusing to force anything on Opposition MPs. He did not put forward his list of candidates for these elections and intends to leave the sovereignty of the parliamentary party intact for the present.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 October 1973)

REICHSBANKNOTE

Eine Billion Mark

zahlt die Reichsbankhauptkasse in Berlin gegen diese Banknote dem Einlieferer. Vom 1. Februar 1924 ab kann diese Banknote aufgerufen und unter Umtausch gegen andere gesetzliche Zahlungsmittel eingezogen werden.

Berlin, den 1. November 1923

REICHSBANKDIREKTORIUM

1000 MILLIARDEN

INFLATION

1923 – when a loaf of bread cost billions of Marks

About ten per cent of the population will still have recollections, however vague, of the disaster that overturned Germany's social structure after the end of the First World War – the great inflation.

Fifty years ago on 15 october 1923 it was decided to stamp out this inflation by establishing the Deutsche Rentenbank. However, the "Rentenmark miracle" could only take effect after many weeks' delay as the government printers had gone on strike.

During this period inflation reached unheard- of proportions. Within a month the price of the dollar (today worth 2.50 Marks) had risen from 25 milliard to 4.2 billion paper Marks. In Cologne, which had been occupied by the French and Belgians, the price rose as high as eleven billions – that is, an eleven followed by twelve noughts.

The amount of Reichsbank notes in circulation in the end totalled almost one hundred trillion – a 21-digit number. And the Reichsbank notes were not the sole means of payment.

The increased use of the word inflation in the recent years compared with the sixties will make many people who directly experienced the inflation of 1923 ask with concern whether the Federal Republic is heading for the same situation – despite the fact that pensions are pegged to the cost of living.

Comparison with today

In the twenties too inflation began gradually. Could it not develop the same way today and finally gallop out of our control? The answer is clear when we look at the mechanics of inflation in the Germany of the early twenties and compare the dimensions, causes and developments of the time with conditions as they are today.

A leading German currency specialist described the post-World War One inflation which reached its climax in the late autumn of 1923 as "a tragic example of a currency being destroyed despite all-round legalised conduct".

He was referring to the mood of cooperation between the Reichstag, the government and the Reichsbank in financing the war, paying for demobilisation, stimulating peace-time production and paying the first reparations, compensation and aid, especially in connection with the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923.

The tragedy was accelerated though not caused by the rise in the exchange rate of the dollar which often preceded a drop in the Mark's domestic purchasing power. This was of considerable economic importance as reparations had to be paid in dollars, an increasing number of dealings on the home front were pegged to the value of the dollar and, finally, because people with foreign currency were able to buy up concerns at an extremely cheap price and make corresponding economic claims.

According to historical sources, a person could live well off four dollars a month in Germany. The measures aimed against currency speculators were never as thorough as they were after the Nazis took over in 1933 and the penalties threatened were out of all proportion to the profit that could be made from these unlawful transactions.

As far back as August 1914 emergency legislation practically raised all restrictions on the printing of paper money. The Reichsbank was no longer required to provide cover for the value of the bills printed nor was it obliged to exchange the notes for gold coin.

The gold contained in the vaults of the Reichsbank therefore lost its function of regulating the Mark's exchange rate which had remained unchanged for over forty years at 4.20 to the dollar.

The money the government paid armaments workers and soldiers' families was obtained, for all practical purposes, at the Reichsbank. All they needed to do was set the printing presses in motion.

Until shortly before the collapse three hundred factories were working full time to manufacture paper for the Reichsbank. Two thousand presses at 150 printers were operated day and night to supply the banknotes.

When war broke out it was hoped that the surplus of purchasing power caused by the disappearance of civilian goods could be absorbed by means of war loan. But this plan was doomed to failure.

War loan would also have cost the overburdened treasury more interest than the treasury bonds issued by the State, discounted by the Reichsbank and extended time and again.

These methods of finance did not cease with the end of the war especially as the amount of tax revenue had been reduced as a result of territorial losses. The deficit and the national debt increased.

At the same time the purchasing power of the Mark declined more and more rapidly. The wholesale price index increased one hundred fold between early 1913 and mid-1922 – and that was only the beginning of galloping inflation.

Apart from short-term moves to support the value of the Mark – which were hopeless even then, the Reichsbank was unable to influence the exchange rate. The confiscation of the German merchant marine and foreign capital led to a loss of foreign revenue while the need for imports rose and the balance of payments figures reflected this turmoil.

The reparations payments were due in instalments, forcing the government to buy up dollars at any price demanded on the currency markets. This opened the way for speculation on the further decline of the value of the Mark.

French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr at the beginning of 1923, when the Reich started to lag behind in supplying telegraph poles and coal as part of its reparations.

Government revenue dropped once again. But now there were the families of the striking workers to support as well as the civil servants who had been expelled from the Rhineland for collective passive resistance. Compensation also had to be paid to the industrial concerns affected.

This was the final blow for the Mark and the exchange rate to the dollar began to rocket. The law courts stubbornly insisted that "a Mark was a Mark" and allowed the payment of Gold Mark debts in paper Marks. The treasury however began to reckon in Gold Marks, calculating its value from the former and current exchange rates to the dollar.

The currency exchange market finally became a pacemaker of inflation. Tradesmen would close their shops during stock exchange hours and open them again when they had adjusted their prices to the new dollar rate (sometimes increasing them over the odds as a precaution).

Workers tried to beat these price rises by throwing their money out of the window or, better, into the hands of their wives, providing a good example of how accelerating the circulation of money encourages inflation.

After the strike in the Ruhr was called off in August 1923 the new government finally displayed greater determination to end the vicious circle of unlimited banknote production, the effects of the dollar rate and the accelerating circulation of money.

The most important factor behind the "Rentenmark miracle" which then followed was the restricted issue of notes by the Rentenbank, which was set up specifically for this purpose.

The new banknotes inspired confidence as they were covered by a compulsory mortgage raised on farmland and industrial estates. At the same time the exchange rate of the Mark was fixed at the former value of 4.20 to the dollar.

The new Rentenmark was equivalent to one billion paper Marks. One hundred milliard paper Marks were now worth no more than a ten-pfennig piece. One of the decisive elements of the reform was the refusal to follow former practice and finance the budget with unlimited short-term credits from the issuing bank.

The most serious mistakes of the past were not repeated at the end of the Second World War on either the national or international level. This time no reparations were demanded.

The danger of inflation was countered by means of a strict rationing system and finally obviated altogether by the currency reform of 1948. Savers once again lost their money, however.

The inflation we are warned against today can only be described as creeping in comparison with the galloping inflation of 1923 though some cynics have already claimed that it is "trotting".

There are no indications that the turmoil of the twenties will be repeated. The Federal Republic is not at war, nor does it face the same post-war situation as the Weimar Republic. The government has no Treaty of Versailles to fulfil.

Today there is absolutely no call for the unrestricted issue of currency. The goverment does not want it and the issuing bank would be unwilling to grant credits of this type anyway.

But we must put things in their correct

Continued on page 5



Crowds in front of the Reichsbank, Berlin, queuing for banknotes (Photos: Ullstein)

SOCIAL WELFARE AFFAIRS

Stuttgart Welfare Conference reviews problems of social work

Two extremely different points of view typify the dilemma facing social work today. On the one hand there is still widespread lack of interest in anything to do with "welfare".

Of course people manage to keep their consciences clear at the same time. As the State is responsible for finding solutions to social problems, the whole question of welfare is in the best of hands, they argue. There are also a large number of charity organisations which these people can support to the tune of a few Marks whenever they have their annual flag Day.

Another point of view is less widespread but just as dangerous, Katharina Focke told the Welfare Congress held in Stuttgart: "I often hear that the poor social conditions which confront welfare workers every day are the result of a state of affairs which must be changed and improved at the roots ... But I beg people not to switch to the other extreme and accept misery and hardship as part of the divinely ordained scheme of things."

The word welfare itself may contribute something to the lack of interest on the part of some people and the extreme solutions proposed by others. Since the term welfare was coined as a successor to the aid for the needy provided by the State and charity organisations, is has not lost its stigma of being charity and the sort of charity that was largely restricted to the material side of things and was calculated to ease the consciences of the more affluent members of society. The welfare policies pursued during the first half of this century dealt almost exclusively with material problems.

The bitter poverty encountered among Western industrial nations during the early years of capitalism may not have disappeared completely but it is no longer the pressing social problem it was.

Welfare policy has therefore assumed new responsibilities. Attempts to solve these new problems can be described as welfare in the original sense of the word – concern for the wellbeing of all persons.

These new problems have arisen from the special nature of modern industrial society. For instance, it was not until long after industry had started recruiting foreign workers that people found to their general surprise that the new labour force consisted of human beings and that social problems arose when they were wrenched from their accustomed environment.

The list of subjects on the agenda at the

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Welfare Congress spotlighted many aspects of social work. It was so comprehensive that only a few of the major points can be outlined here.

Modern welfare policy has to deal with the large number of problems arising from the changes in the concept of matrimony and the family for instance. Among the questions discussed at the Welfare Congress was the subject of "parental education" – the question of whether the conventional family advice service has been reaching the people for whom it is intended.

Welfare workers, who no longer see themselves as the purveyors of charity, must not step in when family life has already broken down. No narcotics advice service for instance could be anything like effective if the welfare service did not conduct experiments with different forms of communities.

Bringing up a child in a home often makes him asocial, and welfare organisations have also tried to solve this problem by means of their experiments in this sector. Young people live together in groups and are trained by adults to act in the general interest of society.

But experiments of this type are slow getting off the ground and the current laws protecting minors prevent the application of many of the welfare organisations' ideas.

Past experience has demonstrated that the legislature always lags a long way behind the proven facts. Old people need help nowadays – a further outcome of the break-up of the traditional family – but taxpayers' money is spent on the provision of old folk's homes. But what the elderly really need are contacts with the world around them. Forcing them into ghettos is not the answer.

Modern society pitilessly forces the handicapped to conform to its demands as much as they can. Its attitude is mitigated only by the establishment of special schools and workshops, if at all. But the State is almost helpless in face of the cruelty with which the mentally sick are treated in this country (or not treated, as the case may be).

Modern town planning believes that it can get by without making provision for welfare facilities. The outcome is usually dismal, as can be imagined. Social work, which also aims at the gradual improvement of inhumane social conditions, can make a start here. An inquiry into the welfare services conducted by the government a few years ago revealed that the state of the "social infrastructure" – the term also includes the penal system and the provision of recreational and training facilities for the young outside the established education system – was much worse than the aspects of government welfare policy that guaranteed the needy and income from which they can live.

Katharina Focke reminded the Welfare Congress of this fact. However she was only able to point to a number of projects that her government has undertaken in the social sector. They include laws to protect the young and the old.

She did not try to pretend that the present situation could be changed in the foreseeable future. Such a sweeping statement would require a new type of approach, one that did not harbour any type of resignation, a type of approach which finally made social work a subject for society as a whole.

Herbert Riehl-Heyse

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 October 1973)

Continued from page 4

proportions. The current price spiral and rate of inflation is alarming enough for the present-day situation, even thought it appears to have tailed off recently.

The gradual reduction of the Mark's purchasing power cannot however be countered by one measure and one measure alone. Apart from the problem of homeproduced inflation, the only long-term hope for greater monetary stability in view of the Federal Republic's international ties is if the aim of economic growth without inflation is pursued on an international level.

So far the Federal Republic has been more or less alone in raising this demand and has been forced into the role of the tail trying to wag the dog. But that's the monetary world we Germans have to live in – despite our inflation trauma from the the twenties.

Helge Jan Schmodde

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 Oktober 1973)

Trade Union Confederation's wealth distribution demands boomerang

Demands by the Trades Union Confederation (DGB) for a redistribution of newly-accumulated productive capital have focused public attention on the trade unions' own formation of capital wealth and their own policy in this sector.

The DGB and the sixteen trade unions affiliated to the organisation have a good deal of money at their disposal. Much of their wealth is in the form of administrative centres, training centres and holiday homes but the more significant part is their productive capital – the money they obtain from their own concerns.

Only part of the trade unions' total

Hannoversche Allgemeine

capital has been contributed in the form of membership fees. The sixteen unions affiliated to the DGB raised seven milliard Marks in membership fees from 1950 to 1970. This money was used to cover running costs and fill strike funds. The trade unions also received compensation for their headquarters and concerns which were confiscated by the Nazis in 1933.

According to trade union sources, some one and a half milliard Marks' worth of administrative and productive wealth was accumulated in the period between 1950 and 1970, amounting to about 218 Marks a member. This figure provides little information about the real value of wealth obtained in the free enterprise sector.

There is every indication that the re-accumulation of capital wealth in the concerns run by the trade unions has accelerated since 1970 as a result of the unusually pronounced process of concentration and rationalisation.

The trade unions continue to finance themselves and the concerns they run from dividends that are reinvested and the portion of profits that are not issued in the form of dividends. These concerns also have a considerable amount of money behind them. Kurt Hirsche complained in his report on the finances of the trade unions, published in 1972, that the distribution of capital wealth within the DGB was as unfair as the distribution of productive capital in private enterprise.

Though it only possesses one third of all members of trade unions affiliated to the DGB, the Metalworkers Union had over 45 per cent of trade union capital at its disposal in 1970.

Smaller trade unions have not been able to accumulate any capital worth mentioning and even the medium-sized ones are transferring their withdrawal rights from the trade union-owned *Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft* to other, financially more viable organisations.

Apart from the shares the trade unions own in some branches of industry, their most important holdings are the banks grouped under the leadership of the *Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft* the *Neue Heimat* construction company, the *Volksfürsorge* insurance group and the cooperatives that are currently being reorganised under a new holding company.

The *Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft* with its forty or so subsidiaries has increased its basic capital from 60 to 410 million Marks since 1960 with 177 million Marks' worth of reserves. With its balance of 15,300 million Marks in 1972, it held fourth place among West German banks.

The bank's shareholders are the DGB, the trade unions affiliated to this organisation and the *Neue Heimat* with eighteen per cent. The trade union shareholders finance the increases in capital by reinvesting dividends (The most recent dividend was ten per cent plus a four-per-cent bonus) and by transferring the money raised through participation in the cooperative concerns from the DGB and the *Volksfürsorge* to the *Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft*.

Gertraut Witt

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 October 1973)

■ COMMON MARKET

All clear for European Patents Office

The plans are the best part of a quarter of a century old, the preparatory work was carried out during weeks of consultations, but now at last the fourteen member countries of the European patents conference in Munich have signed an agreement on patents laws in Europe.

For the most part these agreements provide for the distribution of patents through a European patents office to be opened in Munich.

Twenty-one countries were represented at the four-week conference in the Bavarian capital. Seven of them have signed the draft contract but not the treaty itself. The have until April next year to make up their minds whether to do this or not.

The President of the conference, Bonn Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn, said: "There have been no definitive rejections of the agreement."

Where Yugoslavia, Spain, Monaco, Austria, Portugal, Finland and Turkey are concerned "matters of form" have been decisive in their hesitation to sign the whole agreement. Herr Jahn expects that these seven countries will add their signatures to the agreement in the next six months.

Herr Jahn, who signed on behalf of the Federal Republic, said that the efforts of 45 working weeks in the years gone by had provided a treaty which pointed the way for the future. For the first time standardised legal provisions had been created for a field where practical cooperation in Europe was important.

"This is a decisive breakthrough and a decisive piece of groundwork for effective cooperation in the technological sphere," Herr Jahn added.

According to the estimates of the participants in the conference if all went well the patents office could begin its work by 1976. The first European patent could then be issued by 1979 or 1980.

Eleven delegations have, according to Herr Jahn, stated that their parliaments will have ratified the agreement by 1976. So far the agreement has been signed by: the Federal Republic, Belgium, France, Denmark, Britain, Greece, Italy, Eire, Liechtenstein, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands and Luxembourg.

The European Patents Office will be the first European body with headquarters in the Federal Republic. It will have a branch office in The Hague, and this in turn will have offices in West Berlin.

This first European authority in Berlin in no way conflicts with the Four-Power Agreement and will have an important role to play in the future development of Berlin, Gerhard Jahn told a press conference.

The first suggestion that a European Patents Office should be created came from Strasbourg. As long ago as 1949 Senator Longchambon of France put the project to the advisory committee. It was not till ten years later that his idea was taken up by the EEC States and separately but simultaneously by the Nordic States.

The Six could not at first agree whether the project should be confined to the EEC or be more broadly based (The Council of Europe). It was not till 1969 that France concurred with the broadl-based solution. The four Nordic States (with the exception of Iceland) took time to see what came of the deliberations in Brussels and Luxembourg.

A Europeanisation of patents laws – not of prime importance for the development of Europe, of course – will bring many advantages to countries participating and in particular to inventors. In the past separate patents have had to be issued for each country at the national patents offices. In future only one patent will be needed for the whole of Europe. This can be obtained through the national office or direct from the Patents Office in Munich.

Inventors will have to stipulate the countries for which they wish their patent to be applicable. Dual and multiple registrations, which have in the past accounted for about two-thirds of all applications, will be excluded. Thus the creation of the European Patents Office will mean that individual EEC countries will be able to cut their national patents office work and staff considerably.

Since there is a close link between the issuing of patents and their economic use this centralised coordination will be an important step towards coordinating the economic policies of Western Europe with its nearly 400 million people.

The new arrangement is important for foreign policy inasmuch as Europe couched it in terms affecting the nine EEC States and not just the original six.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 6 October 1973)

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Hans Janssen joins World Bank

Asked where he would like to serve at 45 the young economist, still wet behind the ears, answered: "At the World Bank." That was in 1954. A few days ago 43 year-old Hans Janssen packed his bags in Bonn and moved with his wife and three daughters to Washington to become the Federal Executive Director at the World Bank. His ambition had been achieved.

Janssen, a Bonn Ministerial Adviser, who looks younger than his 43 years, brings to his new job years of experience in the international field.

It began with the dissertation dealing with the "change in function of the World Bank" (this referred to the change from the re-building after the War to the stage of development).

There followed eight years with the Organisation for Economic Cooperation in Europe (OEEC), which became the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1961.

At the OECD Janssen was concerned mainly with questions of trade and international sales. From 1961 onwards he was busy on development aid affairs. In 1965 he returned to Bonn.

Before taking over the role of adviser on international finance institutions at the Bonn Ministry for Economic Cooperation in 1970 he worked on other international jobs for this Ministry.

All this experience should stand Herr Janssen in good stead now. He regards the subject of international currency matters as his particular hobby-horse. He disputes the idea that the danger of inflation could arise from the close links between special drawing rights and development aid policy, an idea that has been expressed again recently at the currency conference in Nairobi.

He feels that international inflation has not been aggravated by the roughly ten thousand million dollars special drawing rights at the International Monetary Fund.

His exemplary suggestion (agreeing to some extent with Robert McNamara) is that industrialised nations should renounce part of their special drawing rights in favour of the World Bank and thus the Third World so as to contribute towards solving international finance problems.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 October 1973)

More Marks invested abroad

About 30,000 million Marks were invested by this country's private business concerns in other countries up till June this year, according to the government. Bonn says that this tendency to try to avoid the pressure of rising costs in the Federal Republic by investing overseas is more marked than ever before.

Most of the investments have been made by large and medium-sized companies.

By far the greatest part of this country's foreign investment is in the neighbouring countries of Europe – Belgium, The Netherlands, France and Switzerland.

Lately there has been a growing tendency to invest in the United States, Canada, Spain, Brazil, Austria, Italy, Great Britain and The Canary Islands.

About one third of West German investments go to developing countries but these are proving less attractive. Nevertheless large sums have been invested in Libya with its wealth of oil as well as Brazil, Argentina, the Dutch West Indies, Mexico and Colombia.

Among the countries that are rising in popularity for West German investors are Israel, India, Iran, Singapore and Pakistan. In other African and Asian developing countries this country's investments are increasing only slowly and hesitantly.

The Bonn government welcomes the growing interest of West German investors in overseas investments. The government does not regard this as an outflow of capital in the true sense, but points to the increase in the price of our exports as a result of currency parity changes to the Mark and dollar, increasing costs at home and the problem of the shortage of labour.

Furthermore it must be remembered that a turning point has been reached by this country's exporters. The exportation of goods to the United States slowed down again in August. According to the German-American Chamber of Commerce the value of exports from this country was on conversion 1,113 million Marks as compared with 1,212 million in July.

This is a decline of 8.2 per cent. This country's exports for the first eight months of this year were 10,070 million Marks, however, an increase of 14.6 per cent compared with the same period of last year. But in recent months the rate of increase has continued to decline and this is likely to continue.

There is not, however, any sign at the moment of a flight of investors to America. At the moment only 2,200 million Marks of Federal Republic money is at work in the United States, less than in Switzerland or The Netherlands.

Now fewer than seventy sectors of the economy are involved in these American investments. For their part the Americans have invested 14,300 million Marks in this country.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 11 October 1973)

Nordwest Zeitung

Finns pay high price for EEC link

The signing of the Free-Trade Agreement between Finland and the European Economic Community does not mean that the treaty, which has been on ice for more than a year, comes into effect immediately.

It still requires parliamentary approval. Right from the start the Treaty has been burdened with all kinds of hypothecations.

The Social Democrats in the coalition government imposed a stipulation – they would only give their approval of the Treaty if at the same time certain enabling acts to bring about a dirigistic economic policy were passed.

The joint opposition mounted by the Communists and Social Democrats was a temporary political link-up for the post-Kekkonen era. But following the rejection of the enabling acts President Kekkonen considered himself strong enough to be able to ignore the "both or neither" stipulation of one of the government parties.

The limitation of foreign and domestic policy barriers to the Treaty became even more evident in the shape of Kekkonen's own efforts to prevent the realignment of trade relations with Western Europe being viewed as a reorientation of Finnish neutrality and respect for their Russian neighbours.

How decisive was Soviet resistance? We can but make suppositions. Obviously Helsinki felt well advised to heed gentle warnings before less subtle admonitions had to be used.

Two things became necessary: the personal guarantee of President Kekkonen to Leonid Brezhnev for the continuation of close relations with the Soviet Union and the completion of a parallel agreement with Comecon.

The presidential promise to Brezhnev led in the end to the passing of a special law demanded by Kekkonen, by means of which his presidency was extended till 1978 without further elections.

At the most recent visit of Kekkonen to Moscow for consultations at the beginning of September the Soviet Union appeared to clear the way for the treaty of association between Finland and the EEC.

Was this a clever piece of Finnish foreign policy, then? Has Finland made progress in its struggle for recognition of its neutrality? The Finns have certainly been made to give ample evidence of their friendliness towards Russia. The little country in the North has had a hard time of it. It needs economic ties with the European Community. Now it must be hoped that these ties will help the Finns maintain their precarious neutrality.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 October 1973)

■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

SPD campaign against rising prices causes controversy

Prices, prices, prices, everyone is talking about prices. And recriminations are being flung about right, left and centre. Representatives of trade and industry accuse the Social Democrats of trotting out fighting words from the Marxist box of tricks about the class struggle.

The SPD is not slow to reply that tricks of this kind are designed to poison the social scene.

The reason for this verbal pollution of the atmosphere is a campaign, which has been condemned by that doyen of the free-market economy Ludwig Erhard. The Social Democrats went on the attack with the carefully calculated campaign backing the concerted consumer campaign of recent weeks.

Their slogan in this tricky attack on soaring prices was: "Everyone is talking about prices – we are taking action."

SPD members are being sent out like a task force to shops and stores throughout the country to investigate the prices of foodstuffs, detergents and cosmetics. They are looking for the tradesmen who offer the cheapest or demand the highest prices, and encouraging people to look critically at the price tags on butter, coffee, salt, detergents and wash-up liquids.

This campaign is being accompanied by the issuing of posters and leaflets with an estimated circulation of 1,500,000 at a cost of 300,000 Marks. And this will be backed up by the kind of publicity that stood the SPD in good stead during the last general election with car stickers, badges and the like.

In its pamphlets the SPD has given assurances that the campaign will not involve making retailers into scapegoats. Nevertheless the retail trade must come into the firing line, since it is in shops that the consumer is directly confronted with soaring prices.

In fact the Social Democrat campaign is in the main directed against those organisations on whom the retailer is dependent in much the same way as the housewife is dependent on the retailer. In the SPD's opinion it is the industrialist who is mainly responsible for determining the state of the market.

True enough many big businesses cut their profit margins as far as possible, but there are others who use deceptive advertising to manipulate prices and the consumers who have to pay them, using their incredible power over the state of the market to cut off competition and to dictate prices all along the line."

Statements along the lines of: "Today we must get away from an economic structure in which the private profit motive alone determines the line to be drawn and the quality of economic growth" have caused the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry to distance itself from the prices campaign.

Officially the Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs (FDP) has not dissociated himself from the SPD prices campaign, but Herr Vogel, his press spokesman, has stated: "Some of the passages contained in these pamphlets do not tally with the policies of this house." But he has said that Herr Friderichs is not prepared to make an issue of this.

The retail trade for its part views this campaign as a serious threat. Wilmar Bonenkamp, a member of the presidium and chief business affairs manager of the Federal Republic Retailers Association, has told Social Democrats of the consequences.

He said: "Up till now we have observed political neutrality towards all parties. But we shall have to put an end to this if the aims of part of a political party involve the re-structuring of our economic system, and if a group within our society, namely the self-employed, should be put down with expressions of class struggle."

At a great rate the retail trade has attempted to counter the Social Democrat campaign. Herr Bonenkamp said that the retail trade is printing twenty million leaflets and posters at a cost of 500,000 Marks, including distribution.

Traders are appealing to patriotic emotions, printing their slogans in a framework of the national colours, black, red and gold. They are spending no less of their money than the SPD to put across their message: "The retail trade is also against rising prices and for stability."

When the first press report of the SPD campaign went into print the public relations experts of Federal Republic business had already banded together to take the first counter-measures. The result of their deliberations was that the retail trade, which was directly in the line of fire, would have to react.

It was only when the Social Democrats sent their comrades a questionnaire on price research with legal backing that the chairman of the PR team's committee Hans-Günther Sohl (the President of the Industries Confederation BDI) broke his silence.

In a letter to Chancellor Willy Brandt, the Chairman of the SPD, Herr Sohl rejected the claim that businessmen were pushing up prices. He wrote: "Industrialists are neither abusing the power over the market they are said to hold nor making excessive profits."

At the moment it is uncertain whether industry will content itself with bandying words in this manner or whether it will resort to further concerted defence moves.

At any rate Complan, the Bonn-based advertising agency, has confirmed that it has been commissioned – along with other such agencies – to mount a campaign on behalf of the BDI and the National Confederation of Employers Associations.

Hans-Christian Röglin of Complan, who was strongly involved in the last election campaign on the side of industry and against the SPD, said: "A final decision has not yet been taken."

The reaction of the trades unions to the SPD's price campaign is decidedly restrained, though they have not hesitated to attack pricing policies in the past. The DGB has kept its silence. DGB board member Hans-Georg Wehner said: "It is not our business but the SPD's. We will voice our opinions if we are directly affected."

But the "study group for the self-employed" within the SPD plans to voice its opinions. The self-employed in the party are directly affected by the action their superiors are taking. Hans Fieber, representative of the self-employed on the SPD party board said that they had not yet held a meeting because three members were absent. He is surprised at some aspects of the SPD campaign and personally speaking "not too happy" about them.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

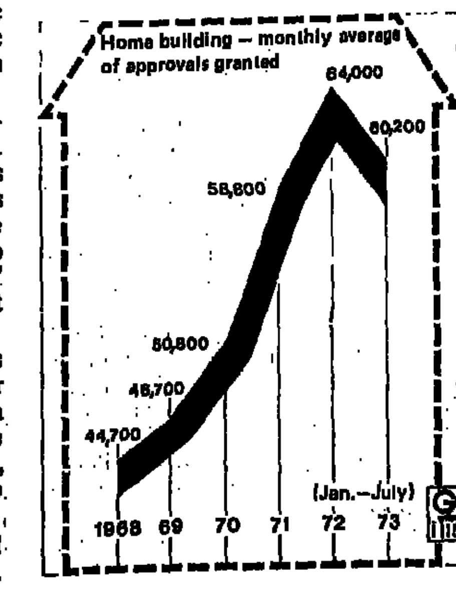
(Die Zeit, 12 October 1973)

Building trade faces long, cold winter

The climate on the building market has cooled down rapidly in the past three months. Experts are saying that the series of bankruptcies that have struck the building trade this autumn are just the natural process of selection weeding out the weaker firms, but it is noticeable that the number of long faces in this sector of the economy is on the increase.

According to the major employers association of the building trade the number of contracts in hand for building companies declined by 25 per cent between May and August. More and more long-established and financially relatively solid companies are finding themselves in a tight spot.

The Bundesbank still refuses to relax the credit squeeze and has in fact tightened it up somewhat, so the building trade is beginning to feel that what has happened in the past is just the tip of the iceberg.



Companies are desperately looking for new contracts just to tide them over the winter slack period. Purchasers for buildings that have already been put up are hard to find. Even the association has stated clearly and unmistakably that demand for building in the Federal Republic is on the wane despite the fact that there is a housing shortage and a desperate need for flats to rent and small houses for would-be home-owners.

In the building industry a major sweeping-out operation is under way. Finance houses have been trying to help out building firms that they have always regarded as good customers, offering them terms to keep their heads above water, but now their resources for lending are being exhausted by the Bundesbank's tight squeeze.

Building companies that have been throwing up new houses now find that purchasers are difficult to find because no one is prepared to enter into a long-term debt at a time when interest rates are high. Potential home-owners are waiting until prices start to decline over the short or long term.

If the economy is to be brought under control the policy of keeping money expensive must be continued well into 1974. But for as long as building price rises are forced to continue because of increases in the cost of materials and wages and the rising price of land – particularly in built-up areas – it will be in doubt which side has to give way first.

Obviously the first price concessions in *Rohbau* (the barebones of house building) are here already. It is fixtures and fittings that remain as expensive as ever.

It is more difficult than ever at present to give the potential purchaser a tip. Special calculations have to be made for each individual instance.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 October 1973)

Many small businessmen face hard times

Many businessmen are no longer willing or able to run their companies. This development in itself is nothing new, but in small to medium sized businesses the trend has reached proportions that should not be underestimated.

In the first half of 1973 the number of bankuptcies increased by 8.4 per cent compared with the first six months of last year. And in recent weeks the number of collapses has been spectacular, showing that the heads of many smaller concerns are giving up because they have no other choice.

The deterioration in the principles of debtors and above all the improved supply from companies that have greatly diversified have forced many smaller operators out of business.

Experts in financial circles have pointed out that reputable buyers and sellers of company assets in this country have been having to refuse offers from several companies going into liquidation, partly because of the large numbers and also because many companies just cannot be sold off.

The list of concerns up for sale is long and varied: printing works, meat processing factories, hotels, machinery manufacturers without a specific line of production, textiles companies, furniture manufacturers, building companies, foundries and die-works.

Major companies in the country are no longer anywhere near so keen to buy up the smaller fry as they have been in the past. Foreign companies, which in the past have been keen to buy anything going, are also showing markedly less interest.

An exception is Britain, which is concerned to buy into continental companies to consolidate its position in Europe following entry to the Common Market at the beginning of the year.

The reasons why fewer people are prepared to be involved in private enterprise are manifold. This tendency is obviously part of a process of development commencing with the end of the War and leading up to the present phase.

Most of the firms coming under the hammer are ones whose profitability has been cut drastically or which are not at all viable in their present form.

Failures in short or mid-term planning have often been the cause of the decline of these companies, sometimes compounded with insufficient capital backing and miscalculation of the state of the market. In many cases, however, the head of a medium-sized firm has decided to get out while the going is at least tolerable rather than running the risk of further losses.

The small industrialist who has often built up a firm out of a workshop finds himself faced with more and more economic and social welfare problems. His staff are clamouring for participation in management, the law demands that he publish his books, his contributions to social welfare have soared and tax problems are piled on top of finance difficulties.

The days of the patriarchal and authoritarian head of a small firm are almost gone, since diversification and delegation of responsibility are now essentials.

Hermann Kurtzer

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 9 October 1973)

NRZ NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG

■ AVIATION

Nation-wide multiple radar coverage will ease pressure on control towers

Control tower staff at airports in this country have been working to rule for the better part of a year. Could not new radar systems render them redundant? Is there no possibility of operating a fully automated air traffic control system? In view of a go-slow that has created such havoc the idea is an attractive one.

The answer is in the negative. Technological developments may be encouraging but they will never replace the men and women in the control tower; at best they will make their work considerably easier and air travel considerably safer.

At present the control tower officer has to identify individual aircraft on a radar screen full of dots, any one of which could be the required plane.

With the aid of radio, the data for each flight registered and his memory he must not only identify the individual dots on the radar screen but also determine their course, altitude and speed.

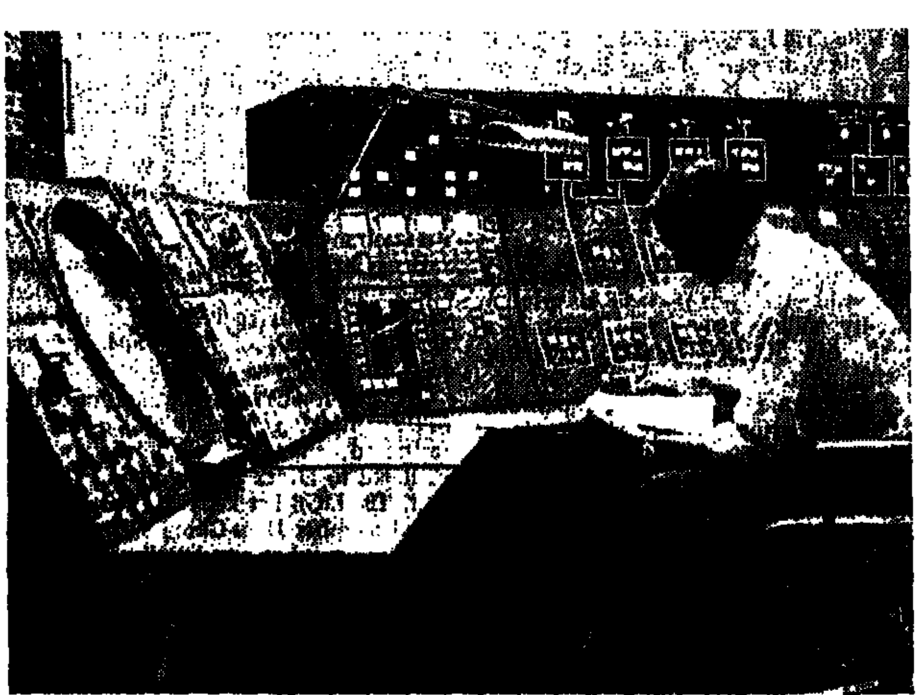
AEG-Telefunken have developed a radar system that circumvents fundamental shortcomings of conventional equipment. Two units are already operational – in Bremen and near Kaiserslautern –, and four others are shortly to undergo trials near Hamburg, Lüdenscheid, Nuremberg and Stuttgart.

In conjunction with existing airport equipment and the regional radar centres at Munich, Hanover and Neunkirchen, near Frankfurt, the six new devices will provide complete and multiple radar coverage of the Federal Republic. Any location anywhere in the country will be covered by at least two radar screens.

The new AEG-Telefunken units combine two radar systems. The primary radar works along conventional reflection lines. A radar wave of up to five megawatts is beamed from a directional aerial for four and a half microseconds. If it hits a reflecting object en route – an aircraft, for instance – part of the energy is reflected back to the aerial. The time it takes to return indicates the distance. The aircraft need have no special equipment on board.

The secondary radar functions altogether diferently. A directional query is transmitted at a specific frequency of 1,030 megahertz. Provided the aircraft is equipped with a so-called transponder it will receive the signal and reply on a separate frequency of 1,090 megahertz.

Secondary radar has distinct advantages over the primary version. Primary radar beams can be reflected by mountains, rainclouds and interference of other kinds, whereas only the aircraft required respond to secondary radar.



Computerisation in airport control towers makes life easier for air safety controllers (Photo: AEG-Telefunken)

What is more, queries can be coded in up to six different ways to provide different items of information. At the moment two civil codes exist, one identifying the aircraft, the other determining its altitude.

The air force have reserved two other codes, the function of which is classified information – presumably strategic data such as target and mission.

This system also suffers from interference, however, since all aircraft and tracking stations transmit and receive on the same frequencies. This interference is eliminated on the radar screen with the aid of a device known as a defruiter, which sorts out the sheep from the goats.

Interference remains in respect of primary radar, which registers not only aircraft but any object that reflects radar beams. The technical aid in this context is known as a digital target extractor and eliminates virtually all signals that do not originate from aircraft.

Air traffic control is thus provided with a virtually clean radar picture of the sector under supervision. All aircraft within radar range are in evidence as pinpoints on the screen, but little else. Whenever the need arises the control tower officer can flash the flight number and altitude on to the screen too.

Signals received by primary and secondary radar and filtrated by defruiter and target extractor can be passed on to data processing equipment. The computer, fed with details of the flights as intended, can check to see whether aircraft are keeping to schedule, time, altitude and course, notifying control tower staff of deviations.

What action is to be taken in the event of deviations that can hardly fail to occur in such a complicated procedure as flight is a matter for the judgement of the control tower officer. Computers cannot relieve him of responsibility for the decision to be taken when not everything goes according to schedule.

In conjunction with the new radar system that is under construction electronic brains can nontheless provide the men and women in the control tower with crucial information on which to base their decisions.

What is more, the combination will facilitate integration of civil and military air safety control and cooperation between national authorities and Eurocontrol, which is responsible for European air traffic at altitudes above 7,550 metres (25,000 feet).

Jürgen Schmitz-Funck

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 October 1973)

Erno of Bremen presses ahead with space shuttle technology

ART 24 is the code-name given to the preliminary stage of a space shuttle under development in this country by the scientific and engineering staff of Erno *(Entwicklingsring Nord)*, the Bremen aerospace consortium.

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, Domier, the Federal Aerospace Research Institute and a number of universities are also engaged in work on the project, which the Federal government hopes will help to bridge the technological gap between this country and the United States and keep Bonn in the running for participation in subsequent international ventures.

The basis of the current fifty-million-Mark stage of the ART project (the initials stand for Re-Entry Technology Work Programme) is the development and trials of the Boomerang and Orbiter space shuttle mock-ups. Erno of Bremen lead the field in Europe in this particular sector.

Flight trials of Boomerang and Orbiter models have been in progress for two years and were concluded this month off Crete. ART 24, the space boffins say, is a synthesis of its two predecessors.

The Bremen firm started work on re-entry technology eight years ago, developing transport systems for shuttling payload to and from space stations and the Earth. A vehicle of this kind must not make heavy weather of re-entry into the Earth's atmosphere and must be capable of landing safely on an airfield.

Erno's LB 21, the Boomerang, has been subjected to a total of nine aerodynamic and mechanical trials off Heligoland, Sardinia and Crete. The Orbiter, developed by McDonnell Douglas for Nasa, was subjected to similar trials.

"The Americans would not have taken us seriously had we not started as long ago as 1956," says Manfred Fuchs, Erno's project and pre-project director.

Cooperation has since been abandoned, the United States preferring to go it alone in developing the first generation of space shuttle systems. In order to stay in the running Bonn is continuing to finance the theoretical and experimental preliminaries as an independent national research programme.

ART is intended to provide basic knowledge in aerodynamics, flight mechanics and materials technology with the aid of an experimental project.

Frankfurter Rundschau

For the first ten months of the current stage of the programme, which will be concluded in 1976, five million Marks in Federal funds have been allocated to the firms involved.

The target of the current stage is to develop and construct a re-entry vehicle some four metres in length and conduct flight trials at sub-, trans- and supersonic speed. At a later stage that would take until 1983 trials could then be extended to speeds of between eight and 25 times the speed of sound.

Plans aside, Erno hope that cooperation will before long extend beyond the national level, including, if at all possible, US participation. There is, when all is said and done, no question of this country putting a space shuttle of its own into orbit.

Even so, ART is not an exercise in scientific limbo. The twenty scientists and engineers engaged in work on the project are optimistic that technological spin-off will make the programme worthwhile.

Assuming cooperation with the United States is resumed, ART 24 can be developed into a rescue vehicle for the US space shuttle, which will be 36 metres long. The Bremen vehicle could be used to shuttle astronauts back to Earth in the event of space accidents.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 October 1973)

Business looks up for air charter firms

Mergers and takeovers continue to be a hallmark of the air charter business in this country, albeit not to the same extent as last year, when the spectacular collapse of no fewer than three charter operators (Atlantis, Calair and Air Commerz) brought about crucial changes in the make-up of the market.

The main current reason for mergers is the difference in capacity provided by various operators. Since the beginning of this year their number has increased, but so has the capacity load of the main charter firm, Condor, a Lufthansa subsidiary.

Condor now control nearly every other charter plane-seat, and even though the company's fleet was expanded by ninety per cent in 1972 its expansion this year continues to beat all comers. In 1973 charter capacity has been boosted to the tune of an additional 930-odd seats, 490 of which are Condor-operated, bringing Condor's share of the seating capacity run by domestic charter carriers to forty-eight per cent.

This year capacity has grown nearly twenty per cent to more than 5,600 seats, but this figure still falls 200 seats or so short of the peak reached at the end of 1971, shortly before the trouble started.

Yet capacity growth has outstripped the market. Air tours, which account for the lion's share of the charter market, have still not lived up to expectations. According to preliminary estimates bookings this year will have been a good 100,000 down on last year.

Domestic carriers thus have surplus capacity, yet interestingly enough they plan to expand their fleets.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10 October 1973)

■ DRAMA

Modern production styles are dead before rehearsals begin

Young theatre producers often become established after just one favourable review. The write-up does not need to be particularly enthusiastic as long as it sounds favourable and appears in something like a serious newspaper.

As soon as the review appears the young producer will find himself besieged by theatre directors whose mad search for talented material has now assumed almost grotesque proportions. Talented directors are paid astonishing sums – and as there are not all that many of them even the semi-talented are wooed.

Drama critics have long played a leading role in this ritual, erecting and overthrowing monuments, discovering geniuses and then panning them. They travel indefatigably to all the "great premieres" of the "great directors" and afterwards write another item of (positive or negative) hagiography.

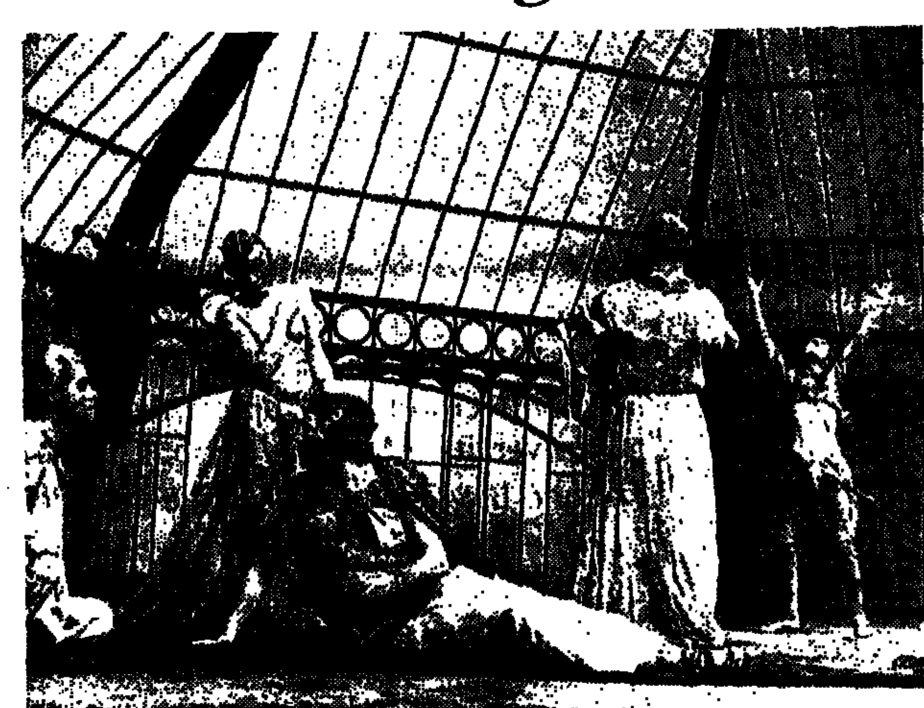
Unwilling or unable to look at drama properly or adopt a discriminating attitude when describing it, bogged down in their own routine, they demand something challenging. It has to be the "new Chekov" or a "completely novel *Midsummer-Night's Dream*".

It is little wonder that both highly and semi-talented producers lose both nerve and sense of proportion. They, the powerful men of the theatre, become neurotic as they are constantly forced to prove and assert their power.

A considerable proportion of subsidised West German theatres are currently heading for two diamentrically opposed dead-ends. Some theatres, the most prominent example being Munich's Residenztheater, are on the point of abolishing direction and dramatic theory (in the sense of the critical study of scripts) and are about to fall back into anarchy. Other theatres have committed themselves outright to the idea of direction and are administered by terror – that exerted by one man, the producer.

The alternative would be one between the stupidity of those without ambition or the forced and unnatural style of those with ambition. But luckily there are a few exceptions to console us – producers like Stein and Nolte, Palitzsch and Zadek and a number of others too.

The cult of the producer and the envy aroused by competition have driven some of the best and most serious young producers into a remarkable state of fever when they have to work out the general conception behind a production.



A scene from the Berlin production of *Nibelungen*
(Photo: Ingeborg Spielmans)

Every production is overshadowed by the need for a coup de grace, the obligation to provide a contribution to theatre history. Producers like Claus Peymann or Hans Neuenfels seem to get into a panic if they read through a play twice without having the decisive brainwave which enables them to provide their production with its basic conception.

Fear pure and simple, fear of failure forces them to decide on the style of a production far too prematurely. The patient, penetrating analysis of the script is abandoned and the producer commences a grotesque monologue.

The art of production, though an empirical art, becomes a highly competitive sport. A conception is no longer called into question, only trained until it is brought to the peak of artistic perfection.

The outcome is a style of drama that condemns itself to blindness, performances that are dead before the first rehearsals have begun. Claus Peymann had a wonderful brainwave when staging Strindberg's *Pelican* in the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, Hamburg. He discovered that this bourgeois drama was in fact a horror story, a play about vampires.

But instead of pondering over the vampire-like nature of the bourgeoisie in his production, instead of outlining their grotesque and daemonic character, their sexual inhibitions, their greed for power and money, instead of backing up his idea, Peymann only provided a number of scenic ideas to illustrate it.

Instead of arguments the audience sees visual aphorisms. The figures on stage are lifeless spectres who gyrate and gesticulate for two hours through all the sublime stylisations of the production. They provide no more than a large-scale spectral study and spectrally go to their ruin.

Instead of an attack on the bourgeoisie the audience is presented with a stylistic study, reminiscences of Expressionism. Instead of a discussion of the play they are provided with an excursion into theatrical history.

The evil world outside is banished from our minds. The figures seen in productions of this type are not human beings or even human-like beings but ghosts, corpes or quotations.

Two other premieres – Jürgen Flimm's production of Horvath's *Geschichten aus dem Wienerwald* in Hamburg's Thalia Theater and Hansgünther Heyme's version of the *Nibelungen* in Cologne – suggested the reason for so much necrophilia: the theatre of the young producers is immensely well-educated and well-read.



August Strindberg's *Pelican* was converted into a horror story in Claus Peymann's production in Hamburg
(Photo: Rosemarie Clausen)

Silent films' influence

There is no doubt that Peymann and Flimm have learned a great deal from silent films, horror movies and the Expressionist theatre and have studied their Frankenstein and Caligari.

Before staging his version of the *Nibelungen*, Heyme turned to the aesthetic ritual of opera and courtly drama and allowed himself to be inspired by symbolist Gustave Moreau as far as wardrobe went.

But in all three cases this careful research and eclecticism was largely unproductive as the quotation was not used as material for the producer's own powers of invention but replaced them. None of the producers discovered his own style of aesthetics for the production but borrowed it from theatrical and film history.

Heyme's production of the *Nibelungen* in Cologne had a almost schizophrenic aim. His version was based on a daring interpretation of Hebbel's play by a scholar of German studies named Emrich who without hesitation transfigured it into a farsighted and unembellished study of bourgeoisie, capitalism and the modern world and outlined his intention in the programme.

But the notes on the aesthetic style of the production printed on the next page of the programme contradicted this view. There Hebbel's aesthetic style was interpreted as wanting to negate or beautify the evil part of reality.

There was no hint of this contradiction in the actual production as it escaped this self-imposed schizophrenia by deliberately taking refuge in a Mannerist-style courtly drama.

The finished product was something like Felsenstein's production of *Wallenstein* for the Hoftheater would have been if it had been given the Surrealistic once-over by Hans Neuenfels.

A dome-like construction of glass and iron formed the main feature of Ben Kistner's splendid stage design, the large empty semicircle inviting movement and dancing. Spectres, mad Germanic spectres, moved across stage as if in buskins and yelled their lines through megaphones.

During the second part of the play a trance fell across the painstakingly transformed theatre. More and more frequently the actors rolled long carpets around themselves or twisted their bodies into contorted ornaments.

But this senseless three-hour spectacle

DIE ZEIT

did not reveal what was to be revealed or discovered – unless it was just meant to represent the nineteenth century or the bourgeoisie in general.

The most striking performance was by the actor playing Siegfried. He constantly stretched his hands to the sky, smiled as only a German youth can smile – emphatically and stupidly at the same time – danced like a poor dancer and declaimed like a poor singer.

That was probably meant as an attack on the typically German belief in heroism. But I fear that such a vulgar attack as this (two or three "bold" physical or linguistic attitudes were mercilessly exploited for hours) will not reach its target. It would not even serve as an attack on poor heroic actors.

The most grotesque feature of the performance was the reaction of the audience. Screams of protest mingled with tumultuous applause. It was easy to recognise how splendidly Heyme's simple strategy of provocation functioned. The pretence was that the decisive battle for the future of contemporary theatre was being waged in Cologne.

It is unfair to compare a production with such clearly-defined aims as Flimm's production of Horvath's *Geschichten aus dem Wienerwald* in Hamburg with Heyme's gloomy stammerings.

But in Hamburg too audiences saw less of the play and more of the producer's ambition and brainwave, though on a far higher level. In Hamburg too it was the theatre of ghosts.

This time the spectres came from Vienna. There was the daemonic pasty-faced butcher with his bloodthirsty assistant, a lover played by Heinz Trixner who posed in poses reminiscent of the old-time cinema and began to groan and whimper like a baby as soon as he

Continued on page 11

■ THE ARTS

Schröder-Sonnenstern works exhibited in Berlin

Eye in heart, heart in circle, circle in star, star in the glow of the sun – this is how he depicted himself symbolically, this Friedrich Schrödder-Sonnenstern, this Friedrich der Einzige, known to some of his earliest admirers as "the greatest living painter in Germany".

Five, or at the most ten, years of intensive productivity with pencils and crayons have been enough to create an oeuvre of original individuality, and secure wide-ranging artistic fame for the artist who is now 81 years-old.

When his first works of art appeared Friedrich Schröder was almost sixty years-old. He had lived a long and confused life as an outsider. He grew up of peasant stock in Lithuania in utter poverty. His life took him to a wandering circus and a mental home, to spiritualists and occult sets among fine people. He achieved some fame as the head of a sect and a miracle-worker. His successes occasionally landed him behind bars.

Though called up many times to this and that war he always avoided military service, being classed as "harmless but incurable", so he says.

Schröder-Sonnenstern's *Des Teufels Himmelfahrt* (Photo: Heinrich von der Becke)

Süddeutsche Zeitung

In his case the artist's life story is an important part of the story of the development of his art. It supplied the most marvellous figures of the subconscious which began to make their appearance in the drawings of this artist when he was already fifty years-old, the legends, picture captions and additional writings and often the symbolism of what was depicted as well, pointing satirically to the condition and false values of a world felt to be artificial, spiritually and physically stunted and morally degraded.

And when one reads what he wrote, for instance that "real art can only develop and unfold from inwards to outwards," and that "one should sweep one's brain clean" so as to become aware of the coldness of feeling and turning of phrases such as progress, culture, civilisation, one knows that he can give substance to the lemur-like and anthropoid poetry of his pictorial stories and what they express, bursting vitality and suppressed or contained Nature.

His objects are "literary" but he bears them with the means of his own pictorial inventiveness – the luscious fleshiness, the fat bosoms and bottoms, the snakes and swan necks remain sterotyped in two dimensions almost as if they had been disembodied, with the symbolical decoration of eye and heart shapes, the dissolution of the limbs into spirals, arrows and wheels.

Since he was "discovered" in the fifties there has been a lot of talk about whether this sudden, strange and totally unprepared blossoming of artistic creation is an example of the painting of a mentally sick man, of naive art, of Surrealism or of Fantastic Art.

Scientific investigations and exhibitions all over the world, the sympathies of artists such as Bellmer and Breton, Dubuffet and Hundertwasser have each claimed the work of Schröder-Sonnenstern for this or that school, movement, thesis etcetera. His works have been compared with the manic universe of Adolf Wölfli (his works painted in the cell at a home became famous at the last *documenta* in Kassel), with the dream pictures of Rousseau, with the visions of such as William Blake, and also with the crude clarity of the Neuruppin picture collection and the satirical pictorial moral pieces of Georg Grosz.

All these investigations and comparisons concerning the ten years or so in which Schröder-Sonnenstern was active are secondary. Wieland Schmied who organised the exhibition for Hanover before it ever came to Berlin described what makes the pictures works of art: "Pictorial inventions, pictorial creations with a penetration that is without parallel."

Having discovered the picture Schröder created it again and again. It was a variation on a theme, giving various meanings to the pictorial symbol he had discovered. The protagonist of his moral "Juckechen and Spuckelchen", "Clown and Superclown" appears in ever new forms. He uses patterns again and again, changing the colours. Pupils helped him with this, then helpers helped; and in the second half of those ten years that he was producing before the spark went out again dates and attributions become unclear.

The Berlin exhibition is largely filled with works taken from the Brockstedt Gallery, Hamburg, which was the first to organise an exhibition of Schröder-Sonnenstern's work after he was discovered. It is a very beautiful exhibition and the works are of known origin.

Lore Ditzen
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 October 1973)

Berlin symposium on everyday aesthetics

The role ascribed to the graphic arts today is far greater than the significance attached to them in past centuries. In the past philosophy and literature were the dominant disciplines in which the awareness of the age was expressed. But today pictorial depiction of the world and the artist's view of it is far more important.

It was not just coincidental that the first revolution in the graphic arts involved fundamental changes in the way the artist viewed the world – Cézanne, Seurat and Picasso.

Pictorial art in all its many forms has taken over the leading role in the depiction of the twentieth century world – and its forms are many: the subtlest of paintings and sculptures right down to Trivial Art, posters and comic strips, so-called freedom-of-purpose right down to the applied arts, frescoes to the decorative lid of a casserole.

Architects, town planners and designers profit from the visions of the graphic artists and draw on their examples. Educationalists and sociologists learn much from them.

So the symposium *Ästhetik in der Alltagswelt* (Aesthetics in everyday life) organised by the Berlin International Design Centre was able to count on a good deal of interest.

There were five days of working groups, lectures and discussions – a mammoth programme of events based on the theses of five guest speakers, experts all in the field of art theory. They came from Britain, America and Italy.

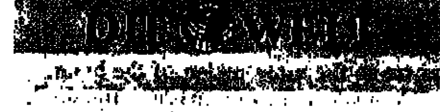
The basis of the symposium was supposed to be an analysis of the everyday world with the aid of experts on art theory. The everyday world in this sense was not taken to be the opposite of the "Sunday world" but – according to a definition by Bazon Brockm the chairman of the symposium – "the part our society and world which we take for granted either consciously or unconsciously in our actions and which we naturally assume applies equally to everybody else".

This explanation seems quite brittle, like the whole symposium and lost amid a welter of fine words. Carlo Giulio Argan from Rome, who crossed swords with the Bauhaus in particular, came closest to the essence, and the subject of his lecture "the difference between art and aesthetic creation in the everyday world" gave rise to lively discussion.

Argan draws the dividing line between art and design. He does not believe they can coexist and takes the, if you like, aristocratic point of view that the best thing is for art to dictate to society. Argan differentiates strictly between the individual stamp and mass-production.

Others taking part were Rudolf Arnheim (Harvard), Gyorgy Kepes (MIT) and Georges Kubler (Yale University), all adding to the main theme.

Arnheim's most famous publication *Anschauliches Denken* deals with problems of perception. He got to grips with the development of the world of form, of thought and speech.



Kepes has published a book *Die Sprache des Sehens* and he gave practical suggestions for far-reaching artistic changes to the environment. Finally, Kubler gave a special lecture pointing to the need for temporal connections when regarding aesthetic phenomena.

All these lectures are shortly to be published in paperback form. It will be a long time before we know whether what they have suggested falls on the fruitful ground of actual practice. Despite the good attendance and the interest shown this all seems a completely theoretical matter.

Lucie Schauer
(Die Welt, 5 October 1973)

Continued from page 10

came emotional and a dear old suicidal grandmother who chirped and croaked like a bird of ill-omen.

The figures were arranged splendidly – and broken in scornfully. The audience no longer needed to use its eyes as the only thing to see through was horror and ... and every gesture and every ... situation was heavily coated with horror and lies. By stressing evil, drama of this kind made the burdensome duty of actually *watching* the play superfluous.

Every second of the performance was calculated pedantically. It was the type of theatre that demands admiration at every ... and feels itself obliged to supply brainwaves all the time. Flimm turned Horvath's drama into black boulevard theatre. He dispensed with the more complex points in favour of evil-sounding ...

The figures were not seen as they are in real life but were presented as lifeless finished products. Mental and physical deformities are revealed, often by means of expansive gesture, but we do not see how the person developed this deformity or fights against it.

By way of contrast, Peter Stein demonstrated with the utmost of discrimination how childlike beauty, the needs of puberty and clerical morals fight against each other in his production of Marieluise Fleisser's *Fegefeuer in Ingolstadt*. He also demonstrated that the theatre can think with the body.

Peymann jokes in a wordly way, Flimm expresses himself simply and brashly (which is an improvement) and with Heyme the performers' bodies only labour and sweat. All three performances look like hard work (hard manual work at that).

This suddenly results in the wish for less power, effort and ambition to be invested in theatre productions – and the desire for greater dramatic pleasure. All three performances discussed here are based on secret desires. Heyme longs for courtly spectacle. Peymann and Flimm enthuse about horror stories and vampires. Why must all these fine theatrical and childlike dreams be concealed behind a facade of enlightenment?

It is remarkable that at a moment when so many young producers have reached a dead-end with their storm and stress the Bochum producer Peter Zadek has abandoned his former violent style.

His version of *The Seagull* is not "the new-Chekov" as is often claimed. It is not provocative as we have been able to see time and again in recent years that producers can no longer follow Stanislavsky's lead when staging Chekov.

But it is a new Zadek. He has become a producer who no longer needs to cover over his uncertainty with theatrical boasting, a producer who has gained the courage to depict boredom and emptiness when the play demands boredom and emptiness.

He does not string together a series of splendid experiences but depicts unsplendid people without grief, without hate and without vanity. Zadek, who once liked playing the role of provocateur, a role now copied by many young producers, has not managed to provoke in his latest production. But he has achieved something better – drama without slogans.

Benjamin Henrichs
(Die Zeit, 12 October 1973)

■ MEDICINE

Scientists discuss cancer research at Schwetzingen conference

The statistics are still alarming – one West German in five dies of cancer, 150,000 die of the disease every year or four hundred daily. And what of cancer research? We are used to sensational discoveries in almost every branch of medicine. Only cancer research seems to lag behind.

Six scientists employed in various branches of cancer research recently met in Schwetzingen to answer the question: "What can society expect from cancer research today?"

Cancer is a disease that establishes its own system by means of a number of different factors. Pathology, nuclear medicine, immunology, toxicology, virology, cell research and radiology all attempt to combat this system.

It is still impossible to say when the disease will finally be stamped out but the meeting in Schwetzingen made it clear that advances have been made in the various branches of cancer research.

So far the public has been largely unaware of the fact that carcinogens occur in nature as well as in industrial waste products. Cancer-producing substances have been found in plants for example.

Professor Dietrich Schmähl, head of the toxicology and chemotherapy department at the Heidelberg-based National Cancer Research Centre, also mentioned two other possibilities that could lead to the emergence of cancer.

Cancer could be produced from the inter-reaction of two harmless chemical compounds in the stomach. Secondly, the cancer agent could be transferred from an expectant mother to the child in her womb. In some cases therefore the cause of the disease must be traced back to the embryo stage.

The prime aim of toxicology must be the development of preventive measures against carcinogens from the environment. This is a realistic aim as there are already cases where cancer has been wiped out as an industrial disease – among chemical workers for instance.

As we all have cancer-producing substances within us and are exposed to their influence from without, how is it that we manage to survive at all? The answer is the immunological system with which we are all equipped.

The immunological system consists of two complicated subsystems which protect us from cancer. Hereditary deficiencies and certain drugs can affect the system and lead to the formation of tumours.

Professor Kurt Brunner from the oncological department of Berne's Inselspital stated that this defence mechanism could be stimulated during cancer treatment. But, he added, the vast majority of the tumour cells must first be removed by surgery in order to obviate the most serious threat to life.

It many be possible in future to make diseased cells healthy again with the help of immunology.

Professor Johannes Clemmensen, head pathologist of the Finsen Institute in Copenhagen and director of Danish cancer research, spoke of the important role statistics can play. Though statistics lead to important findings in other branches of research, insufficient attention has been paid to them so far, he complained.

The findings and methods of cancer research are admittedly of no value to society if society does not pull its weight.

The facilities available for the early diagnosis of the disease are still not operating to full capacity. False modesty is still one of the main reasons why the various types of cancer occurring in the female genital area are not diagnosed at a sufficiently early stage.

Cancer researchers are in full agreement on one fact – cancer can be cured if diagnosed early enough. "The examination is ridiculously simple," Professor Klaus Goerttler of the Cancer Research Centre explained. "It only costs some three to four hundred Marks to treat cancer in its early stages. In its later stages it usually proves impossible to cure even at a cost of thirty or forty thousand Marks."

Society cannot therefore expect miracles from cancer research. But it can be certain that few problems have been approached with more dedication.

Gero von Boehm-Bezing

(Müchner Merkur, 3 October 1973)

Neurologist proposes brain surgery for addicts

Members of the Kassel-based Academy of Criminological Research believe that they now have a cure for cases of alcoholics and drug addiction that were once considered hopeless.

Professor Fritz Roeder, the Göttingen neurologist, spoke at the Academy of a method he had developed involving brain surgery. In cases where conventional methods have had no effect, a relatively safe operation could be carried out to neutralise the part of the brain responsible for addiction.

"After many years of experiments on animals as well as a number of hospital trials, our method can be considered safe," Professor Roeder claimed. "Our research has revealed that dependence on drugs or alcohol assumes the proportions of a natural urge after a certain period and, like the sexual drive or the urge to eat, is controlled by a certain brain centre. Neutralising this centre, which is no more then fifty cubic millimetres in volume, will cure the patient for all time."

Professor Roeder's "stereotactic working group" – named after a method developed by American scientists to probe various regions of the brain – has already been able to claim a number of successes by curing a number of addicts who always returned to drugs after treatment and would probably have drugged themselve to death if they had been allowed.

The fact that sexual offenders have had brain operations to rid them of their sex drive led the team of Göttingen

Frankfurter Rundschau

researchers to look for the addiction centre in the same region of the brain.

"A small incision is made in the skull, a probe inserted into the desired part of the hypothalamus region of the mid-brain and the centre destroyed with an electrode, through without affecting adjacent sections," Professor Roeder explained.

No undesired side-effects or after-effects have been observed in the 22 cases of this type that have been operated on over the past ten years, Professor Roeder claimed.

Considering that more than ninety per cent of all drug dependents return to their former ways after withdrawal cures and that all attempts to cure consumers of hard drugs have met with little success, the brain operation is perhaps the last opportunity of stopping an addict on his course to what is in reality suicide.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9. 10. 1973)

Researchers suggest that miscarriages can be forecast

The course of a pregnancy and the development of the embryo can now be forecast with a fair degree of certainty. The two hormones choriongonadotropin and progestorone are secreted in the initial stage of pregnancy. Their waste products can be traced in the urine by means of chemical tests and this is frequently the basis of pregnancy tests.

A research project backed by the Research Association and conducted at a number of women's hospitals in this country has revealed that these two hormones can supply important information about the future course of the pregnancy. It can be forecast with a relatively high degree of certainty whether the mother is going to have a miscarriage for instance.

WELT am SONNTAG

The preliminary finding are now also available of a study conducted at the Women's Hospital in Charlottenburg, Berlin. Some fifteen hundred women were covered during the course of this project.

Professor Josef Nevinny-Stickel spoke of the findings at a meeting of gynaecologists in Munich.

Thirty-one of the women whose hormone levels were subject to constant observation suffered a miscarriage. The miscarriage in these cases could be forecast four weeks in advance despite the lack of medical symptoms.

All but three of the women who had miscarriages secreted too low a level of the two hormones in question into their urine from the beginning of their pregnancy onwards.

As far as the three exception were concerned, the hormone levels were at first normal but dropped again four weeks before the miscarriage. The warning given by the slump in hormone levels enables doctors to prevent complications.

(Welt am Sonntag, 7 October 1973)

X-rays replace complicated tests of the heart

Researchers from the Charité Hospital run by the Humboldt University, Berlin, have tested the applicability of heart X-rays in preventive medicine in order to avoid the complex cardiological examinations normally required when tracking down diseases of the heart and circulation.

Professor K.H. Richter told the tenth International Conference of Medical Technology that promising results had been obtained from the analysis of chest X-rays. Ten per cent of the nineteen thousand persons covered by the examination were found to have abnormal conditions.

According to the *Medical Tribune*, nine criteria were employed in the computer picture analysis. They included the shape of the heart, the size of the rib-cage and the age and sex of the patient.

Not all changes affecting the heart and circulation can be tracked down by this method. Professor H. Reindell of Freiburg University Hospital recently stated in an article he wrote for the medical journal *Der Internist* that diagnosing heart disease by X-ray and in particular judging the strength of the heart required the calculation of heart volume as well as the X-ray pure and simple. Two takes from a distance of two metres are necessary.

Calculating the heart's volume, in connection with the analysis of the form of the heart and circulation and painstaking observation of the pulse, enables doctors to diagnose pathological changes at an early stage.

The difficulties arising in connection with the functioning of the heart result from the fact that the size of the heart depends on both changes in the heart muscle and damage to the connective tissue.

As long as the muscles are healthy, the heart remains strong even when it is increasing in size as a result of connective tissue being destroyed. On the other hand, once the muscles are damaged, the strength of the heart can flag without any change in heart volume.

The knowledge gained in recent years about the volume of healthy and diseased hearts has enabled researchers to develop simple X-ray methods to judge accurately whether or not patients are suffering from heart disease.

Further tests will be necessary before we see the uses of simplified heart X-ray diagnosis in practice. As with all methods of preventive medicine, its applicability depends on both medical criteria, such as the incidence of uncertain findings or undiagnosed conditions, and costs. The Berlin researchers have made no mention of the money involved.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 October 1973)

Not enough radiologists, X-ray expert claims

There are far too few neuroradiologists dealing specifically with the X-ray diagnosis of diseases of the brain, spinal cord and certebral column, Professor Hans Hacker, the Frankfurt X-ray specialisr, told the tenth annual congress of the Neuroradiological Association in his home town.

So far only some fifty doctors in the Federal Repiblic have taken the two year special course in neuroradiology alongside their basic study of radiology and neurology, he claimed.

In future there will have to be special posts for neuroradiology specialists, he stated. He also called on the 14 neuroradiological centres to train more X-ray specialists.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 October 1973)

■ EDUCATION

University practices outstrip university planning

Though the Federal Republic is taking great pains to expand its university system, its success has so far been limited. However, it must not sit back in the misguided belief that good will can replace results.

Apart from the current need for renovation and reconstruction, planners must allow the Federal Republic to retain room for manoeuvre. They must not erect obstacles in the way of future requirements and developments.

Once upon a time one of the greatest obstacles in the way of rational reform was the disastrous shortage of reliable information on which to base planning. This state of affairs is gradually improving.

Educational research is a very young science but it is already producing some remarkable findings. Some surprising information has occasionally come to light.

For instance, one astonishing conclusion of a report on further education compiled by the Göttingen Sociological Research Institute after questioning school-leavers about their future academic career was that the broad regional distribution of universities and institutes of further education was more detrimental than beneficial to the equality of opportunity that is one of the main aims of educational policy.

The Education and Science Ministry will have to re-examine its ideas. So will the planners employed in the Federal states' ministries of education. The established policy of allocating technical colleges, colleges of education and universities to different centres is evidently more detrimental to the declared aim of educational policy than could ever be imagined.

The choice of subject made in the further education sector usually depends on the parents' financial position and not on the student's own career plans, the Göttingen study reveals. Regional distribution of institutes of further education consolidate this state of affairs instead of overcoming it.

North Rhine-Westphalia has even planned its polytechnic universities according to the principle of broad regional distribution and has thus laid the foundations of the further education system for the foreseeable future. Few changes will be made to the overall plan in years to come.

But the conclusions of the Göttingen study should not be ignored when making plans in future. It appears that a grants system enabling financially less well-off students to attend courses at a better university far away from the parental home would be more effective as far as the equality of opportunity is concerned than the current pattern of distribution that has already become traditional.

Admittedly, the undiminished demand for places at universities and colleges of further education may serve as an excuse for many of the reforms that have proved to be half-measures, if not a step in the wrong direction.

The increase in the number of students results in a hectic atmosphere. Last year the student population rose by almost eleven per cent. The number of newly-registered students rose over the same period by as much as fifteen per cent. Today there are almost 660,000 students in the Federal Republic and West Berlin, 160,000 of them freshers.

The extent of the problem can only be surveyed when the increasing number of students is added to the increasing number of would-be students who have had to be rejected as a result of entry restrictions in their subject.

More than 36,000 would-be students planning to take one of the ten subjects that have had the numerus clausus slapped on them throughout the country had to be rejected this autumn.

The Central University Admissions Bureau in Dortmund was only able to promise places for one in three applicants for study courses in architecture, biology, biochemistry, chemistry, foodstuffs chemistry, medicine, dentistry, veterinary science, pharmacology or psychology.

In times of need help often comes from the most unexpected quarters. Christian Schwarz-Schilling, a Christian Democrat member of the Hesse provincial assembly, last year passed on a tempting idea from the United States.

As many as 680,000 places at American universities and colleges are at present unoccupied. Many of these universities would be prepared to take students from the Federal Republic in return for the relatively modest payment of study and residence fees.

American universities could then operate at fuller capacity, the waiting list for places at universities in the Federal Republic would become shorter and, as Schwarz-Schilling points out, there could be a reduction in university expansion.

The Education Ministers Conference is soon due to discuss Schwarz-Schilling's proposal. But it is already certain that there will be nothing like large-scale relief. The differences between the two countries' education systems and subsequently career prospects are too great.

But there can be no doubt that Schwarz-Schilling's proposal represents a practicable intermediate solution. There is already a great discrepancy between theory and practice of reform in many sectors.

Planners reckon with a study course of three or, at most, four years. But the average length of study is much more – 5.65 years at universities, 3.29 at colleges

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Polytechnic university pilot schemes

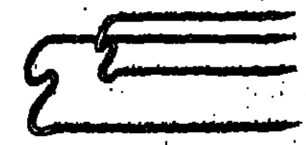
The Education and Science Ministry has drawn up a programme for seven prototype experiments involving polytechnic universities. The pilot schemes in Aachen, Bremen, Hamburg, Karlsruhe, Osnabrück, Stuttgart and Ulm are intended to produce solutions to various typical problems that can then be applied to other universities. Bonn is contributing 1.4 million Marks to the total costs this year of 2.8 millions.

(Die Welt, 6 October 1973)









■ CRIME

Mounting crime rate threatens the bases of our society

The seeds of violence grow. Newspaper headlines (sometimes only in special circumstances) are dominated by news of hijackings, murder, kidnapping, bank raids and abducting children. But it does not have much effect on readers who usually take the view that no matter how heinous the crime, it could never happen to them. But crime is only a hair's breadth away from most of us.

Daily in this country:
nine people are murdered,
every 39 minutes a person is robbed,
every nine minutes a home is broken into,
a swindle occurs every three minutes,
and every thirty seconds a thief gets to work.

These are horrifying statistics, indicating that law and order leave much to be desired in the seventies. Estimates of crime in 1980 are gloomier. Then it is expected that between Flensburg and Constance there will be eleven assaults causing grievous bodily harm daily, every ten minutes a case of blackmail or robbery, every three minutes a car will be stolen and cases of theft and breaking and entering will be taking place every few seconds.

These are the kind of prophecies that take away one's zeal for eating a hearty breakfast and cause sleepless nights.

This was not the intention of Cologne police official Hans Werner Hamacher in his book *Tatort Deutschland* (Scene of the Crime – Germany) which is to be published by Gustav Lübbe Verlag, Bergisch-Gladbach.

His intention was quite the opposite in fact. He wants to point out to each and every one of us the increase in crime that threatens our society, a crime rate that will increase daily unless something is done about it.

According to Hans-Werner Hamacher this country, by 1980, will have the same crime problems as America.

In 1970 there was a total of 15,810 murders in America, 37,270 assaults, 348,380 robberies, almost two million cases of theft over fifty dollars, over two million cases of breaking-in, 920,000 car thefts and so on and so on. Is this what the Federal Republic is going to be like in 1980?

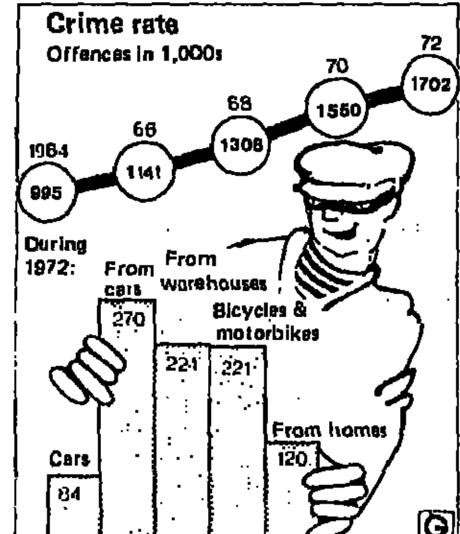
For page after page Hamacher gives fact after fact. According to Hamacher technical developments have done a great deal to assist criminals as well as crime as depicted in the media. This applies in particular as regards major cases of robbery and theft and an immeasureable percentage of crime that is affected by television programmes.

The audio-visual centre in Hildesheim headed by Professor Heinrichs, for instance, noted that in one week in 1972 there were 103 murders, 52 serious brawls, 27 shootings, 26 injuries from firearms and eight robberies on TV.

It is a fact that in countries that have a major television viewing audience the crime rate is correspondingly higher, in countries with only a few television viewers the statistics remain more constant.

The car is involved in almost half of all punishable offences, because it gives the criminal mobility. It also helps to prevent the solution rate. The car, according to Hamacher, has made a people famous for philosophers and poets a country of lawlessness, and has created or intensified the feeling of opposition that exists between the police and law-abiding citizens.

There is no longer any disgrace in getting a notice of a fine, and orderly conduct or violations of the law are all considered one.



Major cities are the source of crime in this country. They are a favourable hunting ground for gangs out to break the law. They have enticements, amusement centres and offer anonymity. In small villages the concept of the community still prevails. In the concrete jungles of huge cities the idea of neighbourliness is lost. A person can get robbed (eight times more likely than in a small town) and a passer-by would be indifferent to the event.

In large cities the crime rate is increasing at a greater rate than in the country. Citizens of large cities are three times more often the victims of a crime than people living in the country.

According to Hans-Werner Hamacher the police have reports of over two million punishable offences each year. And there are untold incidents of crime that never get reported to the authorities. The criminal no longer operates only under the protection of the dark, but in many cases goes into action in broad daylight, before staring crowds or before the whole nation's television screens.

Criminals kidnap innocent people and force the State to negotiate with them to protect innocent citizens, they demand vehicles and demand they should be allowed to make a getaway without police trying in any way to interfere with them.

New groups of criminals have developed. Women raid banks. Officials from the law-abiding sections of the community join up with criminals, amateurs make 100,000-Mark coups.

The lines of demarcation between law-abiding citizens and members of the underworld have become blurred. Honourable people in business become tax evaders and swindlers in business. Wrongdoers constantly get younger, and even children have joined the vast army of criminals in the country. Young people are becoming more and more involved in crimes involving property. The number of crimes that involve violence, such as robbery, murder and rape, are constantly on the increase.

What are the roots of these developments? According to Hans-Werner Hamacher these developments stem from the change of leadership in our society. A university professor is no longer looked up to with respect in our society. This respect is directed towards an executive in industry with a huge bank balance, a home in a fashionable quarter and a luxury car. The underworld envies him. His living standards are something to be emulated.

Hamacher goes further and says that one cause of the trouble is the breakup of the family. Of every 100 children who think themselves unloved by their mother 88 turn to crime. Of every 100 who think their father does not love them 75 turn to crime. Almost 97 per cent of children who have a broken family life turn from the straight and narrow.

Hamacher lists as other causes of taking to crime the lack of a good example to look up to, the alleged political indifference of the parents, post-war prosperity and the conflict between the East and the West. Young people have built a dividing wall between themselves and adults using 100,000 electric guitars, so to speak. Rock and pop has shattered everything that their fathers held dear. They demonstrate the powers of youth and a cultural revolution.

For five years Hans-Werner Hamacher has collected his facts together, made his calculations and comparisons. The results are this disturbing book written by the man who was himself the centre of a spectacular crime two years ago. On 27 December 1971 Hamacher, together with a colleague gave themselves up to a bank raider as hostages for a period of 24 hours.

But the writer who became so famous so suddenly is not only interested in tracing the course of crime in this country. He has ideas as to how the negative aspects of this development, following the way America has gone, can be influenced and diverted.

In his book he suggests that there should be a central organisation to keep tabs on the root causes of crime. Hamacher does not think very highly of the Wiesbaden crime office nor of the police academy at Hiltrup because these establishments cannot get to the roots of things.

It is much more important that a group of experts including police, town planners, traffic including police, town planners, traffic experts, medical researchers, labour psychologists, teachers, doctors, architects, sociologists, actuaries and statisticians should work together in a central organisation. Such an institution would cost less than would the cost of crime in the future.

Hamacher says in his book that law and order are a citizen's right. People in this country must realise, however, that storm signals have appeared. The police must be reinstated in the public image and the dangers combated, without putting freedom at stake, otherwise one day freedom will be lost. Hamacher's book has the most uncomfortable message of the year.

Lothar Meissner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 October 1973)

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of education and 3.34 in other institutes of further education.

But irrespective of education research there may be no need for planners in the further education sector to give priority to "mobile"students. The Education Ministers Conference gave new life to an old hope last August when they drew up a cost anlysis of university education and found that establishing a university of the air in conjunction with accompanying written and audiovisual material would save milliards of Marks. This money must not be spent on university building without sufficient attention being paid to this sector of further education.

Arguments which deal exclusively with quantity give rise to suspicion. Once again a proposal for reform has been highly praised without any discussion of its qualitative aspect. This must now take place.

In countries such as ours where there are no resources for unconditional experimentation good will should be displyed as a way of thinking without illusions.

Gerhard Fauth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 October 1973)

Citizens flock to join the ranks of the secret service

The job vacant notice that the Federal Republic secret service (BND) published at the beginning of September has caused an unexpected stir. A BND spokesman at Pullach near Munich said: "West Germans suddenly all want to become secret agents. We have had a flood of enquiries by telegram, telephone and letter." Any number of would-be applicants have contacted the Chancellery in Bonn and various Labour Offices. The Labour Office at Bavaria-South had to deal with a spate of enquiries.

BND head Gerhard Wessel, 59 was obliged to make his requirement public. BND veterans who have been with the organisation since it was founded are now pensioned off and replacements have not been easy to find. The organisation has an acute personnel shortage.

He said: "We have vancancies in all categories from – charwomen to typists, from drivers to translators and specialists." Vacancies are available for seventy academic specialists.

Fearing that other agencies might try to infiltrate their own men the BND has shunned advertising for staff in the past, but the organisation can no longer afford to do so, according to Gerhard Wessel. He had a notice placed with the Labour Offices. Firstly a brochure was sent to these offices with details of the job and conditions.

The step the BND has taken after holding off from appealing publicly for so long paid off immediately. The notice read: "Positions are available in many categories, including chemists, lawyers, engineers and people with industrial experience. Many have already completed their studies and others will have been practising their professions for many years."

The truth is that working for the BND seems to be more the kind of work the ordinary citizen does rather than something extraordinary, even BND staff themselves admit this.

Every fifth applicant was academically trained. Almost seventy per cent of the applicants were rejected. The remainder have to be examined once more. Applicants are called on to give a complete record of their past career. Deputy head of BND Dieter Blötz, 41, said: "We don't want other intelligence agencies laying cuckoos eggs in our nest." Many vacancies remain unfilled. The BND personnel chief regretted that only two short-hand typists applied.

The way things are at the moment the BND finds it easier to find a secret agent than to find a typist.

H. Zimmermann

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 29 September 1973)

■ FISHERIES

Baltic fishing convention signed

Representatives of the seven countries with a Baltic coastline signed a Baltic Convention in Gdansk, Poland, on 13 September. For this country State Secretary Rohr of the Bonn Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries signed the documents in the rebuilt medieval Rathaus of the estwhile Danzig.

The Convention of Fisheries and the Maintenance of Stocks in the Baltic contains not a single political slogan, yet the eleven-day conference and its outcome have been rated of major political significance by the socialist countries in particular.

This, the first general Baltic conference of its kind (including, that is, the GDR), demonstrates the extent to which international detente and peaceful cooperation are making progress in this part of the world, it was argued.

For the host, Poland, the convening of the conference, the negotiation of the convention and the establishment of an international standing commission to deal with matters relating to Baltic fisheries, a commission based in Warsaw, represents a fresh attempt to assume the function of a mediator in the Baltic region.

Soon after the assumption of power by party leader Edward Gierek in December 1970 the intensification of relations with neighbouring Scandinavian countries was writ large in Polish foreign policy.

The eight articles of the convention deal with the size of fishing vessel to be permitted in the Baltic, close seasons for certain species of fish, a ban on the use of explosives or narcotics in fishing and so on.

Closer cooperation between the seven Baltic countries as agreed by the terms of the convention is aimed at maintaining and wherever possible increasing the Balic's stocks of flora and fauna, ensuring maximum yield, compiling statistical data and coordinating scientific work.

The standing commission, on which representatives of all seven countries will sit, is to function as an interchange point for this material. Other countries in agreement with the aims of the convention are at liberty to join too.

Delegates to the conference viewed the convention as a first step toward saving the Baltic from the fate of the North Sea as regards fishery. Fish stocks in the North Sea have been sadly depleted by overfishing. In the Baltic protective measures needed primarily to be negotiated for herring and cod.

Further details are to be discussed by a second Conference of the seven Baltic countries to be held next year regardless whether or not the convention has been ratified by all signatories by then. Next year too Finland has convened a similar conference on Baltic pollution to be held in Helsinki.

One of the details agreed at Gdansk was that Baltic countries are not to extend their territorial waters beyond twelve miles. Currently the Soviet Union lays claim to twelve, Poland to six (with the intention of shortly extending its territoral and fishing rights to nine miles) and the rest to three miles.

In the foreseeable future a bilateral fishing agreement will be negotiated between this country and Poland dealing with fishing in the other country's territorial waters.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 September 1973)

Fishing vessels at Eckernförde on the Baltic.
(Photo: Landesfischereiverband Schleswig-Holstein)

4 million cod asphyxiated in the Baltic

The largest number of fish to die in the Baltic for twelve years perished in Kiel Bay on 20 and 21 September. An estimated four million cod, flounders and smelt came to grief between Kiel and Eckernförde. Twelve miles of beach were covered with dead fish.

In all probability their death was occasioned by an acute shortage of oxygen in the Baltic. The carnage did not come to an end until the afternoon of the second day, when rain and gusts of wind boosted the amount of oxygen in the water.

Professor Grasshoff of the department of oceanology at Kiel University remains sceptical. "It could well be," he surmised, "that what we have just experienced will prove to be a permanent state of affairs in the Baltic."

The influence of chemicals may not, Professor Grasshoff feels, have been directly to blame, but the effluent pumped into the Baltic is nevertheless partly responsible.

Sewage represents an additional strain on the Baltic's oxygen supply. There can, he maintains, be no doubt that this mass demise is an impressive alarm signal.

Klaus J. Groth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 September 1973)

